Donegal Annual

Bliainiris Dhún na nGall

Dedicated to the memory of Lucius J. Emerson,
founder member of County Donegal Historical Society,
Curator of the C.D.H.S Museum & Vice-President of the Society.

Journal of the County Donegal
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Front Cover: View of Ballyshannon from *Ireland, its Scenery and Character,* Mr. and Mrs. S.C. Hall (1841) courtesy of P.J. Begley, Derry.

Back Cover: Killybegs Carpet Factory Workers (c.1900) from Lawrence Collection by permission of Photographic Archive, National Library of Ireland, Dublin**.**

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VINCENT Ó'DONNELL

President of County Donegal Historical Society

Vincent was born in the Donegal Gaeltacht townland of Rann na Feirsde, parish of Annagry in 1945. He received his primary education in Rann na Feirsde and Cnock a' Stolaire; his secondary education was in Coláiste Íosagáin, Baile Mhuirne, Co. Cork and he trained as a teacher in St. Patrick's Training College, Drumcondra, Dublin. He began teaching in St. Joseph's National School, Kingscourt, Co. Cavan in 1965. He moved to Killian N.S. Frosses in 1967 and was principal there until retirement in 2004.

He has a love for Irish history and folklore since his early days growing up in pre-electric Ranafast where oícheannaí áirneáil in local houses were the local pastime. Local folklore and history were always one of the principal topics at such nights and resulted in Vincent taking a keen interest in the history of his country, his county and his clan. He joined the DHS in 1971 and has been an active member since, contributing to the *Donegal Annual*, field days and seminars; he often played bagpipes at Annual Dinners; he was editor of the *Donegal Annual* for 9 years and is still on the editorial board. He served on the executive committee for many years and was elected President in 2005.

Vincent is a prime mover in the O'Donnell Clan Association and has been instrumental in organising their Clan Gatherings and other events including a week-long Clan Gathering in Madrid in 2002 to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the death of Red Hugh O'Donnell. He has published a book, *The O'Donnells of Tír Chonaill*, which gives a simple history of the clan from Nial Naoi nGiallach to the present and a periodical called *Ó' Domhnaill Abú* since 1985. He was the leader of a group which published a book of local history, *Ardaghey Church and People*, in 1995.

As well as history, folklore and genealogy, Vincent enjoys many other interests and activities including music, fishing, photography, computers and travel to name but a few. Tógadh lenar dteanga dhúchais é rud a d'fhág grá aige don Ghaeilge. Chaith sé dhá bhliain go leith ag obair don Roinn Oideachais ag cur pacáiste le chéile a bhéadh mar áis do mhúinteoirí i scoltacha gaeltachta agus lán-ghaeilge. Cé go bhfuil sé amuigh ar pinsean le dhá bhliain tá sé níos gnoithí anois ná mar a bhí sé ariamh.

Guíonn muid gach rath agus ádh air agus gura fada buann a shaothar.



Vincent Ó' Donnell, President

THE DONEGAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The *Donegal Annual* is the Journal of County Donegal Historical Society which was founded by the late J.C.T. MacDonagh on 20th December 1946.The objective of the Society is to preserve and record the history of the county. Since 1946 it has awakened a new interest in Donegal studies and has brought together people of different traditions and backgrounds.

The Editor invites articles and reviews for publication in the *Annual* on subjects which relate to the general history, heritage and folklore of the county. Manuscripts should be submitted on disk or by email and include references, acknowledgements and a short biography of the author. Photographs, images and maps are welcome. Authors and publishers are invited to submit new publications for review in the *Donegal Annual.*

The Society has established a museum at Rossnowlagh with the kind co-operation of the Franciscan community. Four competitions are organised for schools: the Harley/MacDonagh Competition, the Father Fitzgerald Memorial Competition, the Kathleen Emerson Award and the Cecil King Competition.

Lectures, field days and excursions are organised by the Society for members. There are almost 800 members in the Society, which is one of the largest of its kind in the country. There are members of the Society living in all five continents.

Membership of the Society is open to anyone interested in the history of the county. The Hon Secretary is Mrs. Una McGarrigle, Parkhill, Ballyshannon, Co Donegal. For an application form and more information about the Society, visit our website at **www.donegalhistory.com**

The Federation of Ulster Local Studies was established in 1974 on the initiative of the Society; it publishes a magazine called *Due North.*

LUCIUS J. EMERSON 1911-2005

A Man for All Seasons

Anthony Begley

Lucius Emerson was a very exceptional man; a man of many gifts and talents, who gave generously of his time and expertise, not only to County Donegal Historical Society but also to his students, the community of Ballyshannon and also to his adopted and beloved Donegal. A school principal, historian, curator, craftsman, writer, soldier, artist, hunter, lecturer, motivator and pioneer were but some of his amazing accomplishments. His home in Ballyshannon was shared with his wife Kathleen, until her death in 2004, and was an open house to visitors to the county, to members of County Donegal Historical Society and anyone in search of advice or guidance with educational or historical matters. Both Kathleen and Louis were most welcoming and attentive to all visitors; anyone who had the pleasure of calling with them will always treasure the memory of their hospitality and helpfulness. They were unpaid ambassadors for the county at large and it can never be estimated the information, hospitality and good will which they shared with countless visitors to the county.

HIS EARLY LIFE AND INFLUENCES

Louis was born in Monaghan town where his father was employed as a woodwork teacher, a career which Louis would later pursue. On the early death of his father the family moved to Portumna in Co. Galway where he was to receive his early education. His home in Portumna was adjacent to the Clanrickarde estate which always aroused great curiosity in the young Emerson with stories of landlords and evictions. It was also, secretly, on this estate that Louis was taught to trap and snare rabbits, wild geese, hares and wild duck. This love of hunting was to be a lifetime pursuit and many local people will recall Mr. Emerson, as he came to be called, fishing for seals at the Mall Quay or hunting through the fields around Ballyshannon. Another youthful pursuit in Portumna was playing Hurling. Indeed Louis recalled the boys cutting ash trees to make their own hurleys and later on, when he came to Donegal, he was to show his students how to make hurleys. Louis attended St. Jarlath's College in Tuam where he played

on hurling teams. Following his school days he served his time, as an apprentice to a building contractor, and later won a scholarship to the College of Art in Dublin. When he qualified as a woodwork teacher his first post was to be Ballyshannon in 1936.

TEACHING CAREER IN DONEGAL

When Louis arrived in Ballyshannon in 1936 his worldly possessions were a bicycle, a suitcase and a hurley! He commenced teaching in the Technical School on the Mall, adjacent to the Assaroe Waterfall and close to the bridge of 14 arches which, sadly, were both demolished to make way for the Erne Hydro Electric Scheme in the 1940's. The front cover of this *Annual* shows Ballyshannon Bridge and St. Anne's Church. He worked alongside James O' Neill, Principal of the school, who was also Chief Executive of County Donegal Vocational Education Committee and who was one of the great pioneers of technical education in the country. He had a tremendous influence on the young Louis Emerson, newly arrived from Galway. In 1938 Louis was requested to go to Loughanure, in the Rosses, to start a school where he was able to innovate and design a curriculum to suit the needs of the students and their community. He initiated crafts such as hand loom weaving, the making of simple furniture and farm implements. "The Emergency" saw Louis moving to Stranorlar in 1940 to



Richard Mulcahy, Minister for Education, inspecting a guard of honour at the official opening of Ballyshannon Vocational School on 6 June 1955 accompanied by Louis Emerson, Headmaster, in his military uniform.

successfully set up a Vocational school there. Louis always recalled with great admiration, the great distances students in Loughanure and Stranorlar cycled to school and the great sacrifices parents made at the time. He was also to win a County Hurling title in 1947 with Erin's Hope, a Stranorlar-Ballybofey team which included the three Hannigan brothers, Jim, Paddy and Jack.

In 1949 Louis was to return to Ballyshannon where he would remain for the rest of his teaching career. In 1952, as Principal of Ballyshannon Vocational School, he organised the opening of the new school in College Street, a continuation of his pioneering days in the county. Louis was a firm disciplinarian who had a tremendous interest in the welfare of his students and motivated them to reach their full potential. A great believer in the importance of extra-curricular activities he promoted Gaelic Football, Camogie, Boxing and gymnastics. He also pioneered adult education in this area and, in his early years, cycled to out centres to deliver courses in carpentry and joinery, furniture restoration, art, local history and any topic which communities required. Nothing pleased him more than to place one of his students in an apprenticeship or semi-state position, to see them advancing to third level or establishing their own business. . He possessed a most keen memory and intellect up to the time of his death and could clearly recall students he had taught as far back as the 1930's. It was always fascinating to watch him, meeting former students and, not alone, establishing their identity but also recalling events from their schooldays and indeed recalling others who were in the same class! Members of the Historical Society can identify with his amazing memory as he was an avid reader with a tremendous interest in people and their stories.

MILITARY CAREER

His father had been actively involved in the War of Independence and it is little wonder, that all through his life, Louis had a tremendous interest in military matters, such as the campaigns of Red Hugh O'Donnell, the Spanish Armada or the 1916 Rising. He joined the Local Defence Force (L.D.F.) at the end of 1939 and when he was commissioned in 1946, he dedicated his spare time to training young men in military tactics and weaponry. He is regularly remembered by many who joined the L.D.F. and later the F.C.A. and, such was his commitment to the military life, some even felt that this was his day job! He was way ahead of his time in training young school students in Gymnastics and Figure Marching and many will recall the magnificent displays in Ballyshannon, in Bundoran, Grange and other venues.

It was appropriate that a guard of honour from Finner Camp attended his funeral mass, as he had a tremendous bond with the military all through his life

and enjoyed being frequently invited back to Finner Camp.

CURATOR OF THE SOCIETY MUSEUM

The successful museum which County Donegal Historical Society currently has in the Franciscan Friary in Rossnowlagh had its origins in Stranorlar. Louis, who was curator of the museum until his death in 2005, described its origins in "A Golden Jubilee Story", a book compiled by Cecil King in 1995.

"The idea of a local museum for County Donegal arose from the fact that the late Andrew Lowry very kindly presented for exhibition in the Vocational School, Stranorlar, a selection of his wonderful collection of archaeological and historical artefacts for exhibition during the Civic Week of Easter 1946. Today we still cherish the artefacts he donated to form the nucleus of a collection for a local museum. This consists of stone ores, flint arrowheads, scrapers and flint cutters. Included in this collection were spindle whorls, stone querns, bullawns, a Penal day chalice, and a 1798 pike head from the Finn Valley. Up to 1949 the items were housed in the Vocational school, Stranorlar, but on being transferred to Ballyshannon School I brought the collection which had started to enlarge, to that school. In the following five years storage and display became a problem but in 1954 the late Fr. Terence O' Donnell, O.F.M. came to the rescue and very kindly offered a room to form a museum in the Franciscan Friary in Rossnowlagh. This became known as the



Frank Aiken,Minister for External Affairs , accompanied by Louis Emerson, Curator of County Donegal Historical Society Museum on the occasion of the opening of the museum in 1954.

County Donegal Historical Society Museum and was officially opened in 1954 by the Minister for External Affairs, the late Frank Aitken. Due to the enthusiasm of members both at home and abroad who have contributed many articles of great archaeological interest, the Museum has now grown to over 500 archaeological and historical objects"

The Museum in Rossnowlagh will always stand as a monument to Louis Emerson because, single-handed, he collected all the artefacts and memorabilia which people entrusted to his care and they can be assured, that the loving care which he showed will continue as a mark of respect to his memory. Both Kathleen and Louis had a wonderful regard for the Franciscan Community in Rossnowlagh, for the Franciscans' generosity in providing a home for the Museum and it is our desire that this bond will continue. Louis celebrated the Golden Jubilee of the Museum in 2004 which was also, sadly to be the year of Kathleen's death after 44 years dedicated service as Secretary of the Society.

CO. DONEGAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A founder member of the Historical Society in 1946, Louis was recognised as the foremost authority on the history of the county and was the father of the Society. To those of us in the Historical Society, he was a tremendous inspiration; always encouraging, always interested in our researches and a font of knowledge which he willingly shared. In 1960 Louis married Kathleen Toland and thus began one of the greatest partnerships in Irish local history. Kathleen became Secretary of



Donegal County Council acknowledge the contribution of the Society by marking the Golden Jubilee of the Society in 1996 with a civic reception in the council chambers Left to right: Michael McLoone, County Manager, Louis Emerson, Sean McEniff, Chairman of Donegal County Council, Kathleen Emerson and E.W.R. Cookman.

LUCIUS J. EMERSON 1911-2005

the Society in 1960 remaining in office until her death in 2004. Together they worked tirelessly to develop the society and make it one of the largest in Ireland. Dr. Lochlann Mc Gill in his Golden Jubilee (1996) article, "Memorable Events of the last Fifty years" writes of the Emersons' contribution to the Society, *"The Historical Society continued to go from strength to strength, much of the impetus contributed by the steady stewardship of our esteemed secretary Kathleen Emerson and her husband Lucius Her total commitment to the Society and her outstanding ability as an overall organiser has been the most productive highlight of the last twenty five years of the Society."* This unique partnership gave an excellent service to our members at home and abroad, who got a prompt handwritten reply to their queries, valuable assistance when they telephoned and a hospitable welcome when they called at their home

Mr. Emerson was a researcher, prolific writer, lecturer, broadcaster and storyteller. A lecture or field day under his direction was a joy to behold as you realised that you were in the company of a master. When Louis took off his glasses, "to digress" as he used to say, you knew you were going to be enthralled by anecdotes, stories and a sense of humour which could be detected in his twinkling eyes.



Field Day at Glenveagh Castle, residence of Henry McElhinney, in July 1963.
Front, left to right: Ignatius McHugh, William J. Doherty, Derek Hill, Dermot McMahon, Henry McElhinney and Liam McMenamin.
Rear, left to right: Louis Emerson, Mrs. P.McGill, Kathleen Emerson, Unidentified, Mrs. Cryan, Michael Cryan, CEO of Donegal Vocational Committee, Claire Cryan, Unidentified and E.W.R. Cookman.

THE WRITINGS OF LOUIS EMERSON

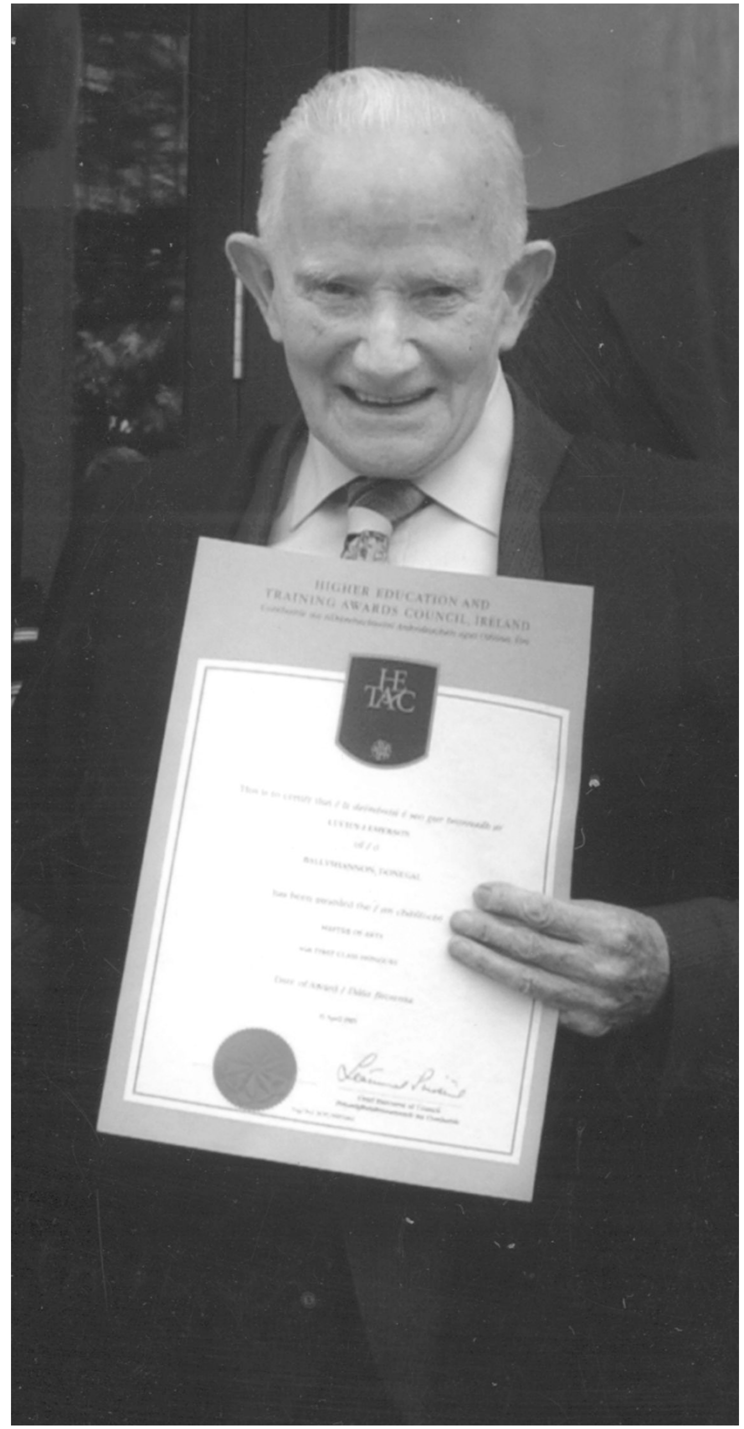
Louis was a prolific writer not alone in *The Donegal Annual* but also in numerous journals, magazines and newspapers. Recently he published his book "*The March of O'Sullivan Beare*" which is still available in the bookshops and will be a collectors' item for those members who wish to recall this wonderful historian. He was working on his next book on Bishop O'Rourke at the time of his death.

The following are a list of the articles, written by Louis Emerson, which were published in *The Donegal Annual*, and the year of publication.

- The Erne Drowes Line(1958)
- Red Hugh's Campaign (1960)
- Professor Robert Crawford of Ballyshannon (1964)
- Some weapons of the Rising (1966)
- Finner Camp (1986)
- The Deity by the Well (1990) with Arthur Spears
- Carved Stone Heads from Drumnacroil, Ballintra (1991) with Arthur Spears
- The early years of the County Donegal Historical Society (1996)
- O'Donnells of Tír Chonaill (1997)
- 1798 Artefacts (1998)

UNIQUE MA ACHIEVEMENT

Louis Emerson's exceptional scholarship and learning, was recognised nationally when in June 2005 he became the very first person in the country to be awarded an MA degree in recognition of his lifetime research and scholarship. At the award ceremony in the Higher Education and Training Awards headquarters in Dublin, Mr. Seamus Puirséill, Chief Executive of HETAC, lauded what he called, *" the remarkable academic and scholarly achievements of Mr. Emerson. Only France has a similar framework to recognise such outstanding achievement in learning and scholarship outside the confines of a third level institution and I am very pleased that Lucius is the first recipient of an MA degree having undergone a very rigorous assessment and validation process by HETAC. It should be noted that the manner in which this degree was awarded is exceptional. It is based on the decades of study and practical learning undertaken by Louis"*. What a fitting tribute to a man who dedicated his life, to County Donegal Historical Society, Vocational Education, to historical research and to lifelong learning.



Louis J. Emerson, Curator of Museum and founder member of the C.D.H.S., receiving his award of Master of Arts in 2005 in recognition of his outstanding contribution to historical research

FINAL FIELD DAY

I had the honour of sharing with Louis his last field day for County Donegal Historical Society, in July 2005, when he welcomed the O' Donnell clan to Rossnowlagh and I later welcomed them to Ballyshannon. He was determined to welcome the Spanish O' Donnells, in their native tongue, and wrote his speech of welcome in English and Ms. Lisa Lawrence translated it into Spanish for him. The thoroughness and professional approach which he showed, at 93 years of age, was just incredible, as he learned to pronounce the Spanish words, listened to a Spanish tape and had a "*Teach yourself Spanish*" book beside his chair. Days before the event, in true Louis style, he decided to have a photocopy for each of the Spanish visitors lest they might have any trouble with his pronunciation! Louis delivered his talk in Spanish in the presence of the President of County Donegal Historical Society, Vincent O' Donnell, who had co-ordinated this clan rally.

This is the Louis Emerson we will remember: a visionary, a pragmatist, a generous man, a man undeterred by obstacles, prepared, determined and focused.

Members of County Donegal Historical Society, former colleagues at Ballyshannon Vocational School and members of the Irish Army formed guards of honour at his removal and funeral mass which was celebrated by Fr. Aodhán Cannon, outgoing Editor of the *Donegal Annual*. Louis was interred alongside his wife Kathleen in historic Abbey Assaroe graveyard. May they both rest in peace.

Ní bheidh a leithéid ann arís.

Anthony Begley is a teacher, author and historian and lives in Ballyshannon; he has known the Emerson family all his life. He is a former President of Donegal Historical Society and has contributed regularly to the Donegal Annual. He has also published books relating to the history of the county.

Photos : the author.

ARTHUR BALFOUR'S TOUR OF DONEGAL (1890)

Seán Beattie



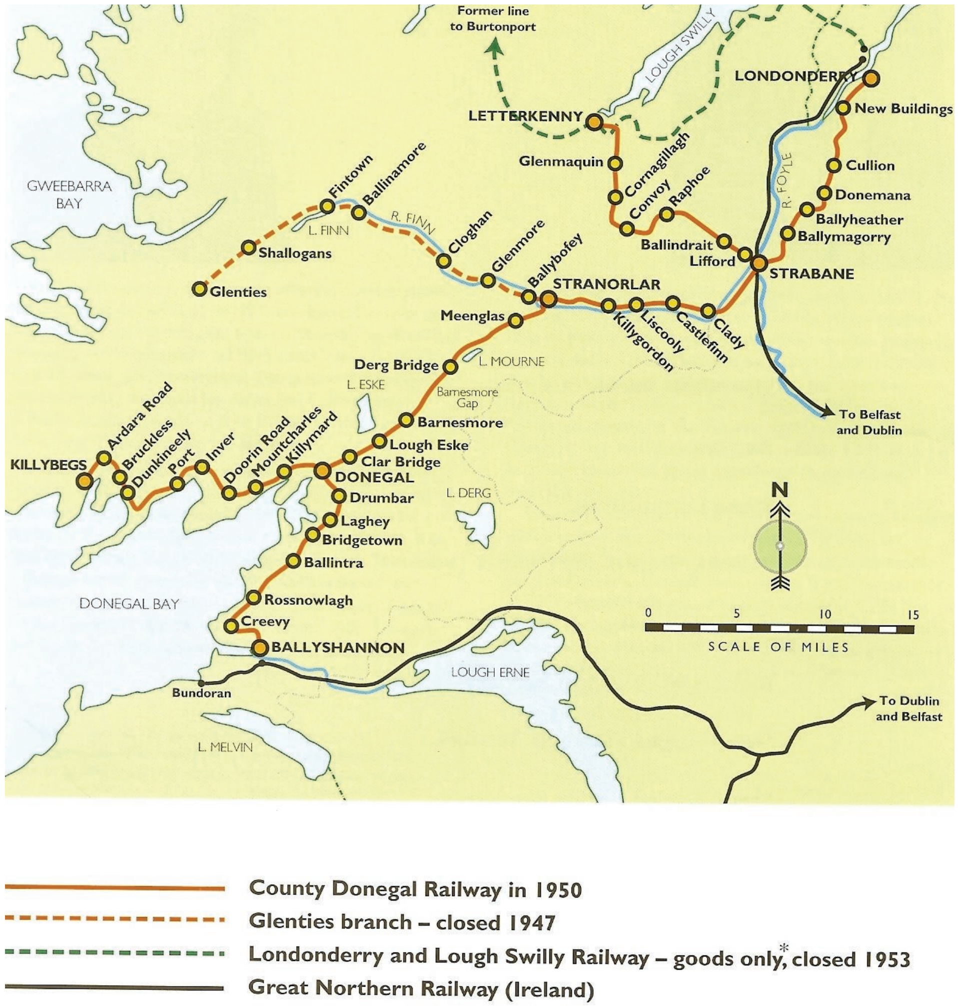
The subject of deprivation in Ireland preoccupied the British authorities for the greater part of the nineteenth century; it was the main issue addressed in all government reports between 1887 and 1890.[1] The precarious state of the rural economy particularly in the west of the country was highlighted by influential figures such as the Quaker philanthropist James Hack Tuke and William Micks, a local government inspector. In the corridors of power, the new Chief Secretary for Ireland, Arthur Balfour, who was appointed in March 1887, was personally interested in how such problems could be remedied. In this article it is proposed to briefly describe the political background and examine the reaction of Donegal residents to the visit of Arthur Balfour to the county in 1890.

On the political front at Westminster, the Irish Parliamentary Party with 86 M.P.'s was enjoying unprecedented success following the 1885 general election. By the end of the decade, however, its leader Charles Stewart Parnell was embroiled in

political scandal. At home the Plan of Campaign, in which tenants refused to pay rents to the landlord, was leading to wholesale evictions and disorder.[2]

The new Chief Secretary decided that what Ireland needed was a period of resolute government. He introduced the Criminal Law Amendment Act in 1887 to deal with agitation and disorder arising from the Plan of Campaign. He put in place a policy that has been described as "an exceptionally ruthless and constructive use of coercion"[3] One of his biographers has used the word "Cromwellian" to describe it.[4] In a long telegram to a Resident Magistrate in Donegal dated January 4 1889, Balfour stated:

"From tomorrow, a more vigorous and continuous procedure must be adopted… You should warn all concerned that if resistance involves serious danger to your men your duty will at once require you to use the military force on the spot."[5] At this stage in his career, he had already made a reputation for himself as an iron-fisted administrator and his nickname was "Bloody Balfour".



By the end of 1889, however, it appears that Balfour had been successful in bringing a measure of peace to the country.[6] He decided to drop his unpopular coercion policies and turned his attention to land purchase and rural economic development. The legislative basis for his new policies was epitomised by the Light Railways (Ireland) Act (1889) and subsequently by the Land Purchase Bill (1891). The latter introduced a development agency called the Congested Districts Board (CDB) which covered eight western counties, including most of Donegal. It was against this background that Arthur Balfour decided to make a fact-finding mission to Galway, Mayo and Donegal in the winter of 1890. News of his visit took the public by surprise. Not only was he a very unpopular Chief Secretary but he had turned down an invitation to visit Belfast in the previous September stating that "he avoided as much as possible taking part in Irish controversies on Irish ground".[7]

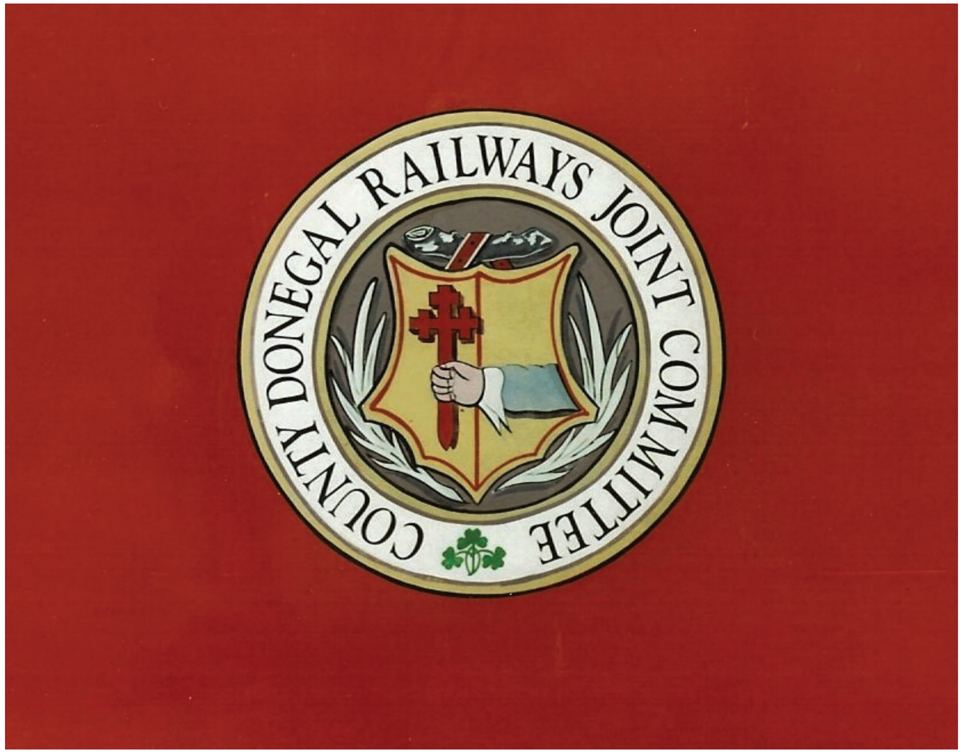
BALFOUR IN DONEGAL

The tour would provide Balfour with detailed information as he embarked on a programme to assist the western counties, including Donegal. The journey lasted four days and it began when he boarded the train at Amiens St. station, Dublin, on Tuesday November 4, at 7.25 am; it ended on Friday November 7.[8] On the tour, he was accompanied by his sister Alice, known to all as Miss Balfour. A young twenty-three year old M.P., who had just been elected to Parliament was also part of the entourage; he was destined to play a major role in Irish affairs over the next two decades. His name was George Wyndham and he was the great-grandson of a leader of the United Irishmen, Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Mr. West Ridgeway, Under-Secretary, accompanied them. A local government board inspector, William Micks, who had made several visits to the county some years earlier was also present.[9] Having compiled reports for the government on conditions in the



Fintown Train 1995

county in the 1880's, he was the best informed member of the party and acted as Balfour's guide and mentor. He corresponded regularly with Balfour to keep him briefed on living conditions on the west coast of Ireland including County Donegal. Where possible, the party travelled by train; otherwise, two jaunting cars were used, accompanied by a covered carriage for servants and luggage. Reporters covered the tour in great detail, no doubt in anticipation of protests and demonstrations. It was noted that Balfour travelled without military escort or detectives.[10] The entire journey was covered in detail by the *Daily Express* whose Special Correspondent filed daily reports; a description of the tour was later published in booklet form. [11]



STRABANE TO STRANORLAR

As the tour began in relative secrecy, the journey to Strabane was uneventful. One of the first stops in Donegal was at Killygordon from where the correspondent filed the following report:

" The next stop was outside Killygordon where a number of country persons had assembled and they raised their hats as the train passed through the station. At Stranorlar, where the party had their first real glimpse of Donegal…..the reception was even more cordial…..After leaving Stranorlar, there was a remarkable change in the appearance of the countryside and it became evident to those who now behold Donegal for the first time

that this sterile and poverty-stricken land had very little in common with the rest of the prosperous, stirring and industrious province of which it geographically forms a part".[12] Before he left Stranorlar, Rev. Crawford presented Balfour with a picture of the parish church where Isaac Butt, the Home Rule campaigner, was buried.

Balfour enjoyed his journey on the Finn Valley Railway as he had a special interest in the development of the rail network in Ireland. He had just introduced the Light Railways Act in parliament and many of the deputations he met were promoting the extension of the network to their own area. Reporters were impressed with views from the train:

"For miles the line runs over and around a succession of bleak, uninviting hills up the sides of which the 'wee train', as it is locally styled made a slow progress. Here and there mountain streams tumbled down into the rocks into valleys and threatened to wash away the railway track…. We passed along the Gap of Barnesmore where the line passed along the mountainside at a height which enables the passengers to get a view of the great wide valley in which all the mountain torrents meet"[13]

Extensions of the rail network were high on the agenda of several Boards of Guardians, which managed the workhouses. Railway companies were competing with each other to get control of new routes. The Finn Valley Railway Company passed a resolution declaring its interest in extending the line from Stranorlar to Glenties even before Balfour came to the county. They may have been aware of Balfour's lifelong interest in rail transport. This was clearly evident when he appeared before the Royal Commission on Congestion in Ireland in 1907



Former Drumenin Station

and announced that railways "were part of the general scheme for ameliorating conditions in the west"; he added that the lack of transport was a "serious evil rendering the fishing industry almost impracticable".[14]

The Express reporter continued:

"At Drumenin, where there is a charming view of Lough Esk, we passed on the West Donegal Railway – one of the lines recently opened under Mr. Balfour's Tramway Act. The length of the line is only four miles but it has been a great boon to the people of Donegal and district. It is the first of the light railways on which Mr. Balfour has had the opportunity of travelling".

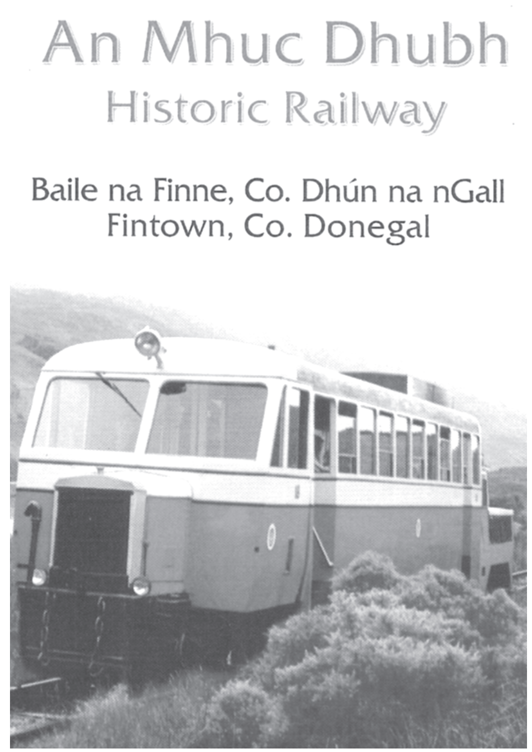
The terminus was originally at the station house, part of which can be seen to-day on the Ballybofey-Donegal road. The track did not reach Donegal Town as planned as the funding ran out. The section on which Balfour travelled was a four mile line of track that had been laid the previous year and linked the Drumenin station with Donegal. The new sections of track were known as the "Balfour Railways".[15] As Balfour admired the scenery around Lough Esk in the valley below, he could see small groups of people standing in fields waving their hats. The omens for his arrival in Donegal were good and he was not disappointed. He was warmly greeted by a deputation consisting of Fr. Hugh McFadden, P.P., Fr. Gallagher of Inver, Rev. Shea of Mountcharles, D.C. Pearson, a Director of West Donegal Railway, Major Hamilton, the local landlord and a number of others. The venue for the meeting was the waiting-room of the newly-erected station. Major Hamilton, who provided much of the land for the new track, was generous in his praise of the Chief Secretary, describing his visit as "a mission of kindness to Ireland". [16] A resolution from the local Board of Guardians was read in which they called for "reproductive works", a reference to the general view that emergency short-term relief measures were of little benefit to the district. There were also requests that the direct route of the proposed line to Killybegs should be changed to provide rail links for small villages along the way. The decline of the embroidery industry was also brought to his attention. [17] There was a marked loss of employment in some sections of the clothing industry between 1891 and 1911, especially for tailors, dressmakers, shoemakers and drapers.[18]

KILLYBEGS

On his way to Killybegs, he passed through Dunkineely which was decorated with flags. As Balfour headed to the industrial school to see some carving which the students had made, he was warmly greeted by large crowds. When he arrived at Killybegs, he attended a reception at the home of the local Justice of the Peace, Mr. A. Brooke [19]. A formal public meeting was held at the Boys' Murray School at

ARTHUR BALFOUR'S TOUR OF DONEGAL (1890)

which the local parish priest presided. Outside, crowds welcomed him with shouts of "Balfour the Brave". Fr. Martin thanked the Chief Secretary for the allocation of £116,000 to the district for light railways. The route of the new line was at this time being "pegged out"[20]. The following month, work was in progress at Inver and Dunkineely[21] The importance of the port of Killybegs would be highlighted again two years later in a Local Inspectors' Report of the CDB.[22]



Balfour was happy with the visit to Killybegs and he left "amid scenes of great enthusiasm"[23]. He was no doubt moved by the comments of Fr. Martin who described him as "one of the best Chief Secretaries Ireland ever had". He suggested that if Balfour could provide a pier, "it would be another gem in his crown". [24]

CARRICK

After the proceedings at Killybegs, Balfour stopped overnight at the Glencolmcille Hotel in Carrick where he was entertained by James and Henry Musgrave, the local landlords. He paid a visit to Pattison's knitting depot which provided work for women in the district. Concerns were expressed about the unstable nature of the embroidery industry and the need for some form of permanent employment. Next morning, he did some sight-seeing along the cliffs of Slieve League; most of the party were on foot but Miss Balfour was provided with a pony for part of the journey. She took several Kodak pictures. They were shown the new pier at Teelin, built at a cost of £8,000, of which Musgrave contributed £1,000. [25] Balfour promised that "in the Land Purchase Bill I introduced and hope to pass, it is distinctly contemplated that something should be done by the Congested Board for places where there is a good harbour and people require to be taught."[26] The following year the Bill became law and under Part 11 of the Bill, the Congested Districts Board was established. The Board had

jurisdiction over eight counties including most of Donegal and was involved in social and economic development.

But the enthusiasm of Fr. Martin was not shared by the entire population. Among the Catholic clergy, Fr. J.R. Collins of Derry poured scorn on those who led "the chorus of jubilation for a few shillings or pence doled out to the poor"[27] Fr. Logue of Kilcar expressed the view that the construction of the railway would do little for those who lived a distance from it.[28] Some politicians such as Swift McNeill, M.P. were highly critical of the visit. Among nationalists there was widespread condemnation of the tour. In Letterkenny, a protest meeting was held at which resolutions were passed expressing strong disapproval. In Glenswilly, the Irish National League, whose members were mostly tenant farmers, also passed a resolution condemning the visit.[29] Fr. Martin was not a popular figure among those who held nationalist views; he was accused of having a Unionist outlook and was scornfully referred to "the Protestant priest".[30] All such criticism was put side three years later on the occasion of the opening of the extension of the railway to Killybegs on 18 August 1893.[31]

ARDARA

On their way to Ardara, the group expressed admiration for the scenery of Glengesh, "the grandest and wildest pieces of scenery in Donegal"[32] The Parish Priest Fr. Kelly welcomed him to the parochial house where the local Methodist minister, Rev. Hewitt and General Tredennick, a major landowner, were present. The topic under discussion was a proposal to extend the network from Killybegs to Ardara, but no such extension was ever constructed. With the failure of the potato crop there was also some discussion about the need for a fresh supply of seed potatoes for the next planting season.

GLENTIES

He was welcomed to Glenties by Hugh McDevitt, a well-known local industrialist while over seven hundred crowded around the courthouse where a meeting was held. It was no surprise that the extension of the rail network from Stranorlar to Glenties was the main topic for discussion. Balfour made a lengthy speech and ended by saying that he would approve the extension and that it would be financed by the Treasury. Balfour was provided with detailed information on possible rail routes as he had sent James Hack Tuke to the county in 1889 to establish what areas would benefit from a rail link. Tuke's opinions were highly valued by Balfour .[33] Both the Glenties Board of Guardians

and the County Donegal Grand Jury had been making a strong case for such an extension months before Balfour came to the town.[34] Companies were keen to get involved in the construction of the rail network and the Finn Valley Railway Company declared its interest in operating the new extension. [35] Responding to the warm reception he was given by the people of the town, Balfour made his departure with the words, "I shall long cherish this visit to Glenties"[36] He visited two tweed factories belonging to McDevitts and Cannons and purchased some gifts. In 1894, a scheme for manufacturing homespun tweed was introduced to the town by the Irish Industries Association.[37]

Balfour was not the only person enjoying the tour. George Wyndham commented, "Our tour goes famously".[38] On their way to Glencolmcille, Balfour was joined by the parish priest, Fr. McDevitt and a meeting took place in the coastguard station. Shortly after his arrival in the village, Balfour spent some time inspecting fields of potatoes and expressed disappointment with the poor return.[39] He decided to compensate the farmer with a half-crown but this was the only money Balfour handed out despite seeing several such fields on the tour. He also visited some cabins in the village and spoke to the inhabitants about their problems. When Balfour set up the Congested Districts Board, the improvement of dwellings was an important part of the work of the Board. The Board drafted model plans and offered rewards to householders who carried out home improvements.

DUNGLOE AND FINTOWN

As the group headed to Dungloe, Balfour expressed a wish to see the route planned for the Stranorlar-Glenties railway and made a detour to Fintown, where the group stopped briefly. At this stage, the village was to be the terminus for the line from Stranorlar, but the Glenties Board of Guardians kept up pressure to have the railway extended to the town. [40] In 1995, a three mile section of this line was restored along the shores of Lough Finn by the Fintown-Glenties Railway Restoration Society. Today, it is the only train operating in the county, a reminder of a time when Donegal had two hundred and fifty miles of a narrow gauge system operated by the County Donegal Railway and the Londonderry and Lough Swilly Railway Company.

When Balfour finally reached Dungloe, the reception was not as warm as ususal. A hostile crowd had gathered in the main street. The local M.P. Swift McNeill was preparing to meet the Chief Secretary face to face on the contentious issue of the evictions on the Olphert estate near Falcarragh. He said he was addressing Balfour in his capacity as a "professional humanitarian". If Balfour was so

concerned about the condition of the peasantry, why had he taken no action on the "terrible barbarities" which were taking place in Gweedore? He was referring to evictions that took place in June and the fact that corn on the lands of evicted tenants was cut and carted away without their consent. [41] When he had finished, a local businessman, James Sweeney was critical of McNeill's attack on Balfour but decided to raise the issue of the state of the fishing industry with him; he also referred to the rail network. Balfour remained impassive and informed his audience that the sole object of his visit was "the amelioration of the poor people of the county, not merely in the face of impending distress but…for all time." [42]

The tour ended with an early morning departure from Dungloe in darkness. He stopped at Letterkenny and had three separate meetings. The first was with Wybrands Olphert, the landlord at the centre of argument the previous evening. At Hegarty's Hotel in the town-centre, he made a brief stop before calling on Bishop O'Donnell. The meeting was private and lasted half an hour. During their discussion, Bishop O'Donnell emphasised that the county needed improvements in infrastructure and not short - term relief measures. He made similar statements to James Hack Tuke, the Quaker philanthropist, in an interview in April 1889 in Letterkenny in which he referred to railway extensions, the supply of seed potatoes and the development of local industries, such as the Rosses granite quarries. Tuke reported this discussion to Balfour who was aware of the Bishop's views before he met him. [43]

Two years after his meeting with Balfour, in November 1892, Bishop O'Donnell was appointed a member of the Congested Districts Board which Balfour established in 1891; it was involved in rural development, which included railway construction and the support of crafts and industry.[44]

Balfour's final meeting took place at the courthouse where the deputation consisted of prominent Unionists from Derry and a representative of the Lough Swilly Railway Company. He was told that the shirt industry required access to the rail network if it was to be developed. The possibility of establishing a pier at Letterkenny was also discussed.[45]

RESULTS AND REACTIONS

Despite his reputation earlier in his career for his policy of coercion, he was given a polite and cordial welcome at most places he visited.[46] The tour was interpreted as a success by the Conservative administration, despite the intensity of the Land War in the Gweedore area and the threat of severe hardship during the winter because of the poor potato crop. The Light Railways Act was a

popular measure providing a lifeline to impoverished communities. The extension to Killybegs was in progress and the Stranorlar-Glenties line was high on the government's agenda. Balfour had obtained first - hand information which was invaluable to him in setting up and overseeing the development of the Congested Districts Board which was of major importance to the economy of the county. At the first meeting of the Board in November 1891, Balfour was in the chair. He proposed that a minute examination of the congested districts should be undertaken, thus establishing for the first time the concept of the west of Ireland being treated differently.[47]

The tour convinced Balfour that despite his notorious coercion policies, nationalists could be wooed by administrative measures that brought economic benefits. In other words, his policy of "Killing Home Rule with Kindness", as it was called, could prove an effective strategy for a conservative administration in countering demands for Home Rule. Reactions among the general population were predictably divided. The Irish National League branch at Carndonagh condemned the visit.[48] The Glenswilly branch passed similar resolutions.[49] All members of both branches were tenant farmers. The Boards of Guardians were more positive; at a meeting of the Stranorlar Board of Guardians, there was widespread satisfaction that two railway extensions were imminent.[50] The Glenties Union was grateful that the extension to the town was at last confirmed.[51] The visit encouraged other Unions to continue to fight their case. Balfour did not visit Inishowen but at a meeting of the Board of Guardians in Carndonagh, John Bradley, a member of the Board, gave notice of his intention to propose a motion at the next meeting seeking that the railway should be extended to the town.[52] In 1901, the train arrived, eleven years after Arthur Balfour's visit.[53]

The leader writer in the local press however remained unconvinced about Balfour's motives. Scorning his "mock philanthropy", he stated that "he as much changed the people of Donegal from their allegiance as he moved Errigal from its base to make way for his tandem car." [54]

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THE WALLED GARDENS OF DONEGAL

May Mc Clintock

The walled gardens project in Donegal was initiated by An Taisce in 2003 to review their history and discuss their preservation and management. Such gardens are part of Ireland's heritage and although they may have become status symbols their purpose was both ornamental and utilitarian. It was estimated that in the Victorian era there were several thousand walled gardens throughout the country, with perhaps over 300 in Donegal. Many have disappeared from the landscape but some are beautifully maintained, while others are worth restoring.

HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE

The earliest walled gardens followed the medieval tradition of defended grounds; such an example can still be seen at Doe Castle. When walled gardens evolved in the eighteenth century it was the custom to locate them out of the vicinity of the 'Big House', keeping services and servants out of sight. A typical example, although a nineteenth century construction, can be seen at the Gartan estate near Churchill, which was very difficult to locate. Eventually it was discovered half-a-mile from the site of the "Big House" and in the midst of thick undergrowth which was almost impenetrable. The earliest gardens varied in shape, size and lay-out but all were orientated to gain maximum sunshine. Size mattered; in the bigger estates like Ards the walled garden is about 5 acres, while the garden at Glendooen Rectory is barely an acre. We have noticed that some gardens have rounded corners, which help to eliminate dark areas in gardens.

DESIGN OF GARDENS

Most gardens were surrounded by shelterbelts of coniferous and deciduous trees. This is clearly seen at Bogay, Newtowncunningham where the trees are now in their maturity. This adds to the joy of the new owners, Mr. & Mrs. Reed and their children, who can sit in their house and watch jays, pigeons and ravens and

listen to the constant bird song.

If one looks at early maps, one can see the walled - garden clearly outlined. Some are square, some rectangular, all quartered by wide axial paths and several subsidiary ones. These outer paths were flanked by herbaceous perennials and backed by espalier fruit trees. On some paths trellises were erected and more fruit trees were arched over the trellis.

On the south - facing wall peaches and apricots were grown, apples and pears on the east and west walls. Plums which are often damaged by frosts at blossom time were grown on the west wall. On the north side morello cherries were planted. The borders under the walls were about the same width as the height of the walls. In the cooler area of the garden vegetables were planted with other root crops. It was not unusual to have a fish pond containing carp, with bee hives for honey and the propagation of fruit trees.

THE WALLS

The usual height was 8, 10 or 13 feet. They were built of local stone, quarried nearby. The stone used at Glendooen came from an outcrop about a quarter of a mile from the house. At Ballymacool and in some other gardens visited, the walls were brick - lined. The stone for Ballymacool was quarried in Kirkstown and the red brick came from Sallaghagraine. There was a brick factory there, owned and worked by a Fleming family. Glendooen does not have brick lining. One wall at Ballymacool is a "hot wall" with an internal flue. Brick-lined walls were eventually replaced by glasshouses when in the 1840's glasshouse tax was abolished. This enabled the owners to plant oranges, pineapples and vines. The vine root was laid outside the glasshouse and the branches were trained through an aperture. Decorative planting became operative in the late nineteenth century.

DUNLEWEY

This garden is on the Dunlewey Estate, owned by the Guinness family, and is a fair distance from the house. It is beautifully maintained with walls intact and an abundance of shrubs, native mature trees and ferns. There is a plentiful supply of rhododendrons. It no longer feeds the family but it has a good supply of apples, pears and plums; it certainly provides an excellent habitat for birds and insects. The Lion gate can be seen at the entrance. Mr. Henry McElhinney, who owned Glenveagh Castle, added an extra set of iron gates as a gift to his sister.

ARDS, CREESLOUGH

This is the biggest walled garden we visited. It is divided into 3 sections by two arched walls and the outer walls are intact. The first part has an interesting potting shed and a modern tunnel. There is some evidence of the original vegetable garden. The second section leads to the orchard where there are old fruit trees of apples, pears, plum and cherry and lots of gooseberry and blackcurrant bushes. Like the outer walls in section one they are covered with lichens, ferns and valerian. The third section is a grass meadow. As we were there in March, we missed the wild flowers that grow there in summer. The gardener's house is in a state of disrepair but surrounded by shrubs and paths. This garden should be restored, but the good men who minister at Ards need manpower and money to maintain the garden.

BALLYCONNELL, FALCARRAGH

This walled garden is in the Olphert Demesne. It has some good trees but it is now used as a football pitch.

BALLYMACOOL LETTERKENNY

The walls of this garden are intact; they are lined on the inside with red bricks but most are now crumbling. Apart from a gooseberry bush and some exotic plants several feet high, the only interesting feature is a souterrain. It is covered with a sheet of corrugated iron which on removal reveals a deep tunnel. Overgrazing in the garden is evident. Ballymacool Estate was once glebe land. The rectors of Conwal lived here until a new rectory was built in Glendooen. Scottish merchants named Boyd purchased the estate, built the "Big House" and lived there until the Troubles in the 1920's. In 1937, Ballymacool was bought by the Kelly family who came from Ramelton. Later, the estate was bought by a gentleman based in London. He had plans to turn the house into a hotel and maintain the gardens, orchards and lawns; there were also plans for a golf course. Unfortunately, shortly after the plans were drawn up, the house burned down leaving only the walls. Eight years ago developers became interested in building eight hundred houses. A local committee tried unsuccessfully to save Ballymacool hoping it would be purchased by the local authority and become the "Muckross" of Letterkenny. This was not to be. On my last visit to the house, it was sad to see the walls demolished, the rare plants destroyed, the greenhouses fenced in, the soil piled high and a street of houses in situ.



Garden at Dunmore House, Carrigans



Dunlewey Gate Lodge



Gardener's House, Glenveagh



Glenleary Gardens



Carrablagh House, Portsalon, Co Donegal, Walled Garden, looking west c.1994. Photo shows the three-level plan of the gardens as designed by Hart with magnolia (right), cordylines (centre), Drimys winteri and Japanese maples on left (not pictured)



Glenveagh Castle and Gardens

ROCKHILL LETTERKENNY

This estate, once owned by the Chambers and Stewart families, has changed hands many times since the Stewarts left. The two sons, who would have inherited, were both killed in World War One. I have a copy of the book kept by the land steward covering a period from the 1890s until the 1914-1918 war. Mr. Harris was a wonderful employee for the family as is evident in the journal. He wrote to the owners who were absentee landlords giving in great detail all aspects of the day-to-day running of the estate. In some notes he mentions the prudent management of Rockhill and the arrangements made to send butter, game, meat, fowl and flowers to the owners in London. In Spring he arranged the collecting and posting of large quantities of snowdrops. In the mid-1890s a terrific storm devastated the estate, uprooting over 3,000 trees. Mr. Harris' letter to the owners gives a full account of the devastation and one can feel his heartbreak and utter despair. Incidentally the fallen timber was sold to Allen's Sawmill which was located at the Port Road, probably on the site of the Golden Grill.

During the twentieth century Rockhill changed hands many times until the Irish Army came into ownership of the house and gardens close by; the Forestry Commission (now Coíllte) occupied the remainder. The walled garden, a distance from the house was part of the Coíllte planting operation. As we now know, planting of fast growing conifers was the national policy at the time; consequently, the walled garden is now filled with overgrown, mature conifers. Not a sign remained of the garden, apart from the walls which have been damaged by falling trees..

OAK PARK

This garden can be seen on the Golf Course Road, between Letterkenny and Cashelshanaghan, the property of Dr Bernard and Evelyn Hickey. The walled garden is two acres in size; as it has not been tended it is now covered in thick undergrowth. The trees are mature and are a haven for wild life. A special recognition is due to Dr. Hickey for allowing the garden committee to see the walled garden; before our arrival he had made an entrance into the garden and cleared a patch of wall so that we could see the stones. He told us the walls are 60 feet long. The house attached to the garden was associated with the Wray family [1]. There are fine examples of *Calmia Angustifolia* to be found in the garden.

AUGHNAGADDY, RAMELTON

The garden is situated on the road between Letterkenny and Ramelton. When I wrote to Mrs. Honor Miles asking for permission to visit, the answer was, "Do come, I have two walled gardens". Needless to say, we were warmly welcomed. Both gardens have the original walls. The garden nearest the house is now a flower garden with a lawn and shrubs. Further from the house, the walled garden has not been cultivated for some time. The thick undergrowth of willow, however, has been cleared recently with a view to a complete restoration of the garden. Both gardens are surrounded by tall trees.

SHELLFIELD, RAMELTON

The garden is located on the road between Ramelton and Fortstewart. The walled garden has been completely restored to its former use; the walls have been repaired and a new orchard has been planted with apple, cherry and plum; it also has a vegetable plot. One interesting feature in the walls is a small toilet built in one corner, accessed from outside.

GLENDOOEN, NEW MILLS

The garden, on the Letterkenny-Glenties road, is over one acre and has not been utilised for many years. The house, known as Glendooen Rectory was built in 1814 and occupied by the Rector of Conwal until 1919; from then until the mid-1950's the rectory was let to a succession of tenants. My family purchased it fifty years ago. The garden walls have large gaps and an abundance of willow; the apple, pear and plum trees have survived, as well as the raspberry, gooseberry and blackcurrant bushes. A Conwal Rector who lived in Glendooen for forty years from 1840 to1880 kept a daily detailed weather chart. This is now at Armagh Observatory; it contains references to garden and farm cultivation, bird arrivals and tree planting. Although written daily during the Great Famine, there is no reference to hunger or suffering; this suggests that inhabitants of the Rectory did not share the suffering of the rest of the community or were not aware of it. An interesting note made in August 1842 states, "To-day we stewed last year's apples and this year's together." The longest period I have managed to preserve apples is to the month of April, never to August. [2]

RATHMULLAN HOUSE HOTEL

Four members of the garden group visited Rathmullan House Hotel on September 27, 2003. Alistair Rowan, in his book on North - West Ulster describes the hotel as having three canted bays with overhanging eaves.[3] The walled garden is still maintained as it was originally planned. The walls are intact, built of local stone topped by several rows of red brick. The proprietor, Mr. Wheeler produces all the organic food - fruit, vegetables and herbs - in his garden and the hotel is a member of the group called Slow Food. Students from colleges of horticulture regularly work in the garden as part of their course. At the time of our visit, all the apples, tomatoes and pears had been harvested. An additional asset is a hens' run and hen house; the manure is composted and fertilizes the garden as in days of old. In 2005, Rathmullan House won the coveted Hotel and Catering Review Country House of the Year Award because of the quality of the facilities and fine cuisine. Other awards include the Moreau Chablis Fish Dish of the Year and the Féile Bia Egg Dish of the Year. The house is typical of the Georgian era and has a magnificent setting surrounded by mature trees and overlooking the golden sands of Lough Swilly.

MULROY ESTATE

The estate is situated over two kilometers from Carrigart. The Elizabethan style house was built by the third Earl of Leitrim in 1865. The fifth Earl and his wife Lady Anne laid down the gardens and by the 1930's their attention turned to a rhododendron collection. They laid down six acres of peat for this purpose. In the 1960's Hurricane Debbie caused havoc here, bringing down 8,000 trees; specimens that survived are eucryphias, rhododendrons, crinodendrons and drimys winteri, some 70 feet high. Lady Anne devoted her life to planning and planting. She is known to have helped Mr. Mc Elhinney in Glenveagh and many of the plants were bred in Mulroy. Fortunately for the conservation of Mulory Gardens, an enthusiast has chosen to spend weekends there and for the last 8 years has tried successfully to stop the decline; he is presently engaged in restoring the walled garden. This necessitates finding the paths and clearing the greenhouses - a formidable task for a young gardener. There are no funds available at present for plants and equipment but it is hoped that funding can be secured for the preservation of this precious rhododendron collection. At the moment it is all hard physical work with a spade. This survey may draw attention to the on-going work of preservation and encourage those who are making efforts to save part of our heritage.

GREENFORT PORTSALON

This walled garden has delightful features and is well maintained by the owners. There are numerous vegetable plots, green areas, mature trees and a view of Lough Swilly. The portico which once was attached to Ards House has been re–erected in the Greenfort garden. Everywhere shows signs of care; the wall is intact and the garden is beautifully maintained. The house dates from the early 1800s and was associated with the Babingtons and the Bartons. About forty years ago, the Perry family purchased the property. In 2003, the house was listed in the Record of Protected Structures by Donegal County Council. It is described as a detatched five-bay, two-storey, late Georgian house with dormer attic, with extensions and conservatories.

BOGAY, NEWTOWNCUNNINGHAM

The group were impressed with the walled garden; the new owners and in particular the young children are aware of their heritage. The estate at Bogay is in the ownership of two families. The walled garden and original gardener's house is owned by Mr. & Mrs. Reed and is in the state of ongoing restoration. Mrs. Reed is determined to clear the walls overgrown with ivy and find the fruit trees. Her next task is to find the paths and layout of the garden. The family now occupies the restored house; from the windows one can enjoy the birdlife in the surrounding trees – jays, and pigeons were busy at work on the day we called. The Reed children have found the kitchen midden which contained masses of broken crockery. It is hoped to use these for mosaic ornamentation.

GLENLEARY, RAMELTON

We visited Mr. John Greene at Glenleary in August, 2004; he has been restoring the house, barn and garden since 1993. At that time there were no visual remains of the walled garden; it is possible that the walls which are marked on the maps became part of the farmyard.

RAY BRIDGE, RATHMULLAN

The house and gardens were owned by the Delap family. They have been long abandoned and vandalized. To find them in the overgrown shrubbery stop at the lay–by on the Rathmullan side of Ray Bridge or alternatively approach from the shore.

RAMELTON PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH MANSE

When we visited this site the Scott family were living here but both Dr. and Mrs. Scott are since deceased; their memory lives on. They were both ardent supporters of conservation. Dr. Scott was the Presbyterian minister in Ramelton for a long period; both he and Mrs. Scott were esteemed and much loved in the community. Mrs. Scott gave me much assistance when I was compiling the history of An Taisce in Donegal. The first public lecture held by the Donegal Association was in Dunlewey House in 1966. The title was 'You can't eat scenery." But you can as has been proved particularly in Dunlewey where a local man with enthusiasm, energy and a dream, Seamus Ó Gallachóir, has put Dunlewey on the map and is responsible for bringing thousands of tourists, musicians and craft workers to this beautiful place. At that first lecture the Chairman Mr. Anton Mac Gabhann reported on the danger of the roofless church becoming a problem. Now, almost 40 years later in 2005 the church has at last received the attention that was proposed at that time. Many years ago, a local doctor described Dunlewey as a district of elderly folk; now this situation has been reversed and the district at the base of Errigal is a magnet for visitors. When the garden members visited the Manse Garden I was reminded of all those people who tried to save our heritage so that future generations could share it. The walled garden adjoins the Manse and is surrounded by light well-built walls. We could not gain entry but from the vantage point at the side of the church we could see mature indigenous trees.

RAPHOE

Raphoe is the ecclesiastical centre of Donegal, where St. Colmcille founded a monastery in the sixth century. The town is dedicated to a native, Saint Adhamhnán (Eunan) who was a monk in the monastery before he became Abbot of Iona in 679. It is not surprising that many substantial buildings and gardens are to be found in and around the town, many dating back to earlier days.

THE VOLT HOUSE

The house, on the Diamond, was built at the end of the eighteenth century by the Church of Ireland Bishop of Raphoe, Bishop Forster. It was to be a residence for retired clergymen. The walled garden is at the rear of the house and the walls are intact and well maintained. The house and gardens have been restored recently. The name *'volt'* may have come from the word '*vault*'. According to the O.S. Memories (1835-36) a convent of Franciscans was nearby and contained vaults as burial places of ten friars.

THE DEANERY

The residence where the Dean of Raphoe resides is on the main road behind the Cathedral. The present incumbent gave us permission to see the walled garden. He is restoring the gardens by removing the trees that he considers are past their prime. The original Deanery was about half a mile from the town and was called Oakfield demesne; built in 1739 workers were busily restoring both house and the gardens on the day of our visit. It is a delightful place, with walls intact and beautifully maintained.

GREENHILLS

The garden is between Convoy and Raphoe; Greenhill House has been knocked down; the owners live in the coach–house, which is now restored. The walled garden was built on a slope, facing the sun and appears to have been terraced. It is now used as a pasture.

SHARON

Sharon is situated between Manorcunningham and Newtowncunningham on the Swilly side of the road. The house was once the Rectory for Raymoghy Parish and is now owned by the Tully family. There is evidence of the walled garden but only part of the walls remains. The thick undergrowth contains remnants of fruit trees and shrubs. The Rectory was the location of a serious incident in 1798 when a visiting clergyman met his death at the hands of the United Irishmen, having missed his return journey home across the Swilly by ferry.

CAVANACOR HOUSE, BALLINDRAIT

This house is one of great historical interest; it was built by Roger Tasker in the early 1600s. Following the Revolution in England, King James 11 headed to Derry with a large army in 1689. He proceeded towards Ballindrait and dined at Cavanacor House under a sycamore tree on 20th April 1689 while the soldiers camped on the lawns. He spared the house because of the hospitality he received there while all the other houses in the area were burned down during the later withdrawal of his army. The garden is mentioned in the deeds of the house dating from the early 1600s.[4] An estate map from 1875 shows the layout of the gardens. The present owners, Mr. & Mrs. Eddie O'Kane have researched the history very thoroughly and confirmed that the ancestors of a nineteenth

century American President named James Knox Polk were born in Cavanacor. The O'Kanes, parents and children, have worked diligently to conserve and preserve the house, outbuildings, trees and gardens. The family are talented artists, sculptors and painters and make visitors welcome. The latest venture is the restoration of the walled garden and their efforts were of particular interest to us. This garden fulfilled the dual function of being both ornamental and utilitarian. The walls are intact and trees are tended; orchards are filled with fruit and vegetables are grown. The gardens are laid out in four sections with privet-lined paths and a long herbaceous border between each section.

HORN HEAD HOUSE, DUNFANAGHY

This is an eighteenth century house, built and occupied by the Stewart family of Horn Head from 1700 to 1935. Sadly it is now derelict and fittings have been vandalized. The walled garden, with walls still intact, has been long neglected; two sheep were grazing there on our visit. The shrubs, manly grisellini, are now grown to a height comparable to the height of conifer

CASTLE FORWARD

This was once the seat of the Forward family who were Earls of Wicklow. Building accounts date the house to 1735. When we visited there were no visible signs of the garden. Later we learned that a row of houses is now on the site.

DRUMBOE CASTLE, BALLYBOFEY / STRANORLAR

We got a conducted tour of the estate by local journalist Pat Holland. The castle was built and occupied by the Hayes family; now all that remains are the plantations and a Gothic gate dated 1876. Mr. Holland took us to the site of the walled garden, which can be seen through a dense hedge. Part of the walls are intact and in the interior there is a grass meadow.

EDENMORE HOUSE, STRANORLAR

Mr. & Mrs. Murphy related the history of the house dating back to the Cromwellian era. They have maintained the house and garden very well. The walled garden, which has access, is filled with shrubbery and dense undergrowth; one wall is now missing. The river Finn flows at the boundary fence.

DUNMORE HOUSE CARRIGANS

The house is situated north-west of the village of Carrigans. The present house, now owned by Sir John and Lady McFarland, was built in the mid-eighteenth century by the McClintock family. This family came to Ireland before the Plantation of Ulster from Argyll.

The Mc Farland family has maintained the house and gardens in excellent condition, the result of great care and attention. The first building was occupied by David Harvey and dates from the 1620s. His successor through marriage was William McClintock; William's son was a captain in the Donegal Militia and he was the builder of the present house in the 1740s.

On the day of our visit to Dunmore, there were gasps of delight by those who had not seen the gardens previously. It is indeed the jewel of walled gardens in Donegal, beautifully maintained, in perfect order and we were told that this is due to the diligence and dedication of one gardener. We felt that there must be unseen hands at work to create such a wonderful habitat - paths, flowers, borders, a pond, walls, tall trees and vegetables. Long may the owners enjoy Dunmore- and the gardener, too!

GLENVEAGH CASTLE

The estate has a chequered history since 1859, when an entrepreneur named John George Adair arrived and proceeded to take advantage of the Encumbered Estates Act.[5] He purchased 25,000 acres from a tenantry that were beginning to come to terms with the effects of the Famine and mass emigration. Adair's plan was to make his estate a profit- making venture by filling the acres with Scottish sheep and shepherds. The tenants were threatened with eviction. When the Scots shepherd/agent, James Murray, was found dead on the mountain with his head battered, Adair took advantage of the situation and began the evictions in April 1861. Forty-four households amounting to 244 people were left homeless and helpless within three days; they were forced to take refuge in Letterkenny work-house. Relief came from Australia and in 1862 the young boys and girls were given free passage to Sydney. Adair died a few years later; his wife completed the castle begun during his last years and laid out the gardens. After her death in 1921, the estate was sold to an American named Arthur Kingsley Porter of Cambridge, Mass. Eventually it was purchased by Mr. Henry Mc Elhinney who had the wealth and expertise to turn Glenveagh into what it is to-day. He had the forethought to protect this beautiful place and negotiated with the authorities to purchase the property and turn it into a National Park. It is now a place of great

interest for descendants of those who had to leave for Australia. The public can now enjoy the gardens which are surrounded by mountains where golden eagles reside. There is also a welcoming and dedicated staff. But those descendants who have bitter memories of an unjust history and a cruel landlord find it impossible to return. The gardens are in sharp contrast to the rugged mountains. The walled garden, to the south of the castle, is well maintained with walls that are intact and a garden where flowers and vegetables are grown side by side. There is an ornate Gothic conservatory filled with exotic plants. Mrs. Adair laid out the gardens and Mr. Mc Elhinney added to the collection; as I mentioned earlier, it is well known that Lady Leitrim from Mulroy supplied many specimens. What is probably less well known is that the gardens were composted from the middens of the evicted tenants. Glenveagh is now on the tourist trail, an excellent habitat and it provides much needed employment in the midst of the mountains

CARRABLAGH, PORTSALON

The location is superb; the owners Mr. & Mrs. John Mulcahy have carried out an excellent programme of restoration on the house and gardens [6]. The eighteenth century house, overlooking Lough Swilly and listed in the Donegal Record of Protected Structures, was originally the home of the renowned Irish botanist Sir Henry Chichester Hart. The walled garden, with walls intact, is well maintained. A large portion of the planting here would have been directed by Hart. There are fine examples of *Drimys Winteri, Davidia Involucrata,* (the Handkerchief Tree), gingko, magnolia, Japanese maples, Chatham Island (Forget-me-Not) and *Morus Nigra* (Black or Common Mulberry Tree) along with more recent shrubs and herbaceous borders. There are also excellent examples of fatsia, eupatoria and cotoneaster growing in the garden.

On our visit to Carrablagh, we were shown around by the gardener, Brendan Little, and were impressed with his expertise and commitment. Mr. Little has directed the six-year restoration programme, which included work on two walled gardens, one of which is a kitchen garden and the surrounding rhododendron woodlands. The landscape setting of Carrablagh House offers one of the finest unspoilt views from any garden in Ireland over Lough Swilly to the Urris hills in Inishowen. There are twenty-five acres of planting on cliff-top, intertwined with paths opening and closing to views over the water.

In their book, *Irish Gardens and Demesnes from 1830*, published in 1980, Malins and Bowe stated that the walled garden offered "one of the finest unspoilt views from any garden in Ireland".[7] They were full of admiration for the garden paths on or near the cliff edge.

CARRICK LODGE

The owners of the property run a heritage shop in the old gate lodge. The walled garden behind is clearly defined on two sides; the remains of the third wall is extant but the fourth has been removed. At one end there are apple trees and mature sycamores growing where the fourth wall was built. There is also a box hedge here. The view from the garden is magnificent with views of the sea and the mountains.

BALLYLOUGHAN HOUSE

It is owned by Charles and Rosemary Tindal who maintain the beautiful gardens. Mr. Tindal explained to our group that this is not a walled garden and that one wall was built 100 years ago. There is a splendid weeping beech that should be on the list of Donegal's special trees as it is over one hundred years old.

The Tindal family also owns a farm nearby; the building, Bruckless Manor is now a ruin. It was once the home of Alexander Morton who came from Darval in Scotland in the 1890s and was the founder of Donegal carpets at Killybegs. The gardens and walls are clearly defined. An interesting feature is the window-shaped openings at intervals on the wall. Their purpose is unknown.

BRUCKLESS HOUSE

The house was built around 1760 by the Nesbitts. It is a two-story house with hipped roof and central chimney stacks. It is now owned by Mr. & Mrs. Evans. The walled garden was cleared of all shrubs some years ago; the walls are intact and the garden extends to one acre. The original beds and gravel paths are still preserved; their location and design are known to the present owners but they are now covered by turf. [8]

BELLEVILLE, GARTAN

St. Colmcille was born in Gartan, where his memory is still alive. Early buildings which were associated with the saint, Irish chieftains and landlords have disappeared from the landscape. The site of St Colmcille's monastery is marked by medieval ruins. Godfrey O'Donnell's stronghold on Godfrey's Isle in Gartan has disappeared; the stones were removed by the builders of Lough Veagh House and used by the landlord, Chambers, for his villa on the opposite shore. The

family were in Gartan from the mid–1700's until 1845 when the estate was sold to John Stewart, a native Scot from Gortnafuaran, Perthshire. He came to Gartan via another estate in Tipperary and for the next hundred years the estate was owned by two Johnston families. The last owner bequeathed the house and farm to her friend Mr. Callaghan. The late Derek Hill had the foresight to conserve the area and eventually it was purchased by Donegal V.E.C. as an Outdoor Pursuit Centre. It is now used as a training centre for youth activities. The old building was knocked down and the stones were deposited in the lake, thus obliterating forever all traces of Sir Godfrey's last stronghold. The walled garden is in an almost impenetrable maze of undergrowth and scrub. The small shrubs – box and grisellini – have grown into maturity, competing for light with extremely tall beech and conifers.

GLEN HOUSE, CLONMANY

The walled garden committee visited the house in August 2005. We were briefed by Seán Beattie about the improvements that were made to the house by Doris Russo who is an American. It was originally owned by the Dohertys who were local landlords.[9] Doris sold the property to the McGonagle family in the village and it is now a successful restaurant and Bed and Breakfast business. The walled garden extended across the road from the house and was a fertile area of land. The setting is delightful with mature trees to the front of the house and views of the mountains and sea in the distance. The house is a popular venue for people who wish to visit the picturesque waterfall called Glenevin which is reached by following a restored path at the back of the house. The route is open to the public and there are car-parking facilities nearby.

TERMAIN

The outline of the walled garden can be seen a short distance from Clonmany but only a part of the original wall survives. The original house was once occupied by Fr. Shiels and it is now used as a shed. In the book, *The Last of the Name*, Charles McGlinchey records that Fr. Shiels took over Termain and built the big house about 1820. In order to make up the farm, seven families had to be evicted. He helped at an eviction himself and carried a cradle with an infant in it and left it on the road. He was very friendly with the landlords who owned Glen House. He befriended the Protestant rector, Rev. Chichester and visited him every day during his final illness. He attended his funeral and as the coffin was passing through the church door, Fr. Shiels marked the sign of the cross on the coffin.[10]

CULDAFF HOUSE

Culdaff House is owned by George Mills and his family. We were fortunate that we visited the house on a beautiful September day. There is a fine walled garden with all the walls still intact; it is three acres in size and situated some distance from the main house. As it was the month of September we were able to see the old apple trees laden with fruit, mainly the *Beauty of Bath* variety. There are some very mature indigenous trees surrounding the walls. There is also a coniferous plantation which has reached a great height. The Mills family have obtained planning permission for a golf course on the property and it is hoped that the stone walls will be left intact.

CULDAFF GLEBE

As the name suggests, this was the residence of clergy of the Church of Ireland. The walled garden is a distance from the house but only one corner and a portion of a wall remain. The present owner Gordon Duggan has used half of the space to carry out his horticultural experiments. His main work centres on apple trees and he has a considerable variety. His yields are good and he harvests half a ton of apples annually which he makes into apple juice. He also carries out experiments using pears, plums and peaches. One side of the garden has been reserved for raspberry canes. From the garden there are beautiful views of Culdaff Bay and the hills of Glengad.

CARTHAGE HOUSE

The house is located one mile north of the seaside village of Culdaff and is owned by the Doherty family. The walled garden can be seen along the main road to Glengad and is now incorporated into the family farm.

REDFORD GLEBE

The glebe house has been demolished but a drawing of the building is available. It can be seen in Amy Young's book called *Three Hundred Years in Innishowen*.[11] The walled garden with walls over six feet in height is in an excellent state of preservation, situated on high ground overlooking Redford Bay. As the ground slopes towards the sea, it must have been difficult for gardeners to work here. The one acre garden is now rough green pasture and is used by the landowner for grazing. It is just a few hundred yards from Culdaff Glebe. Although the old

rectory has been demolished, it is a place that still retains some of the grandeur and majesty of walled gardens attached to great houses.

CONSERVATION PRESERVATION AND RESTORATION

The following is a summary of our research:

1. Many gardens shown on the 1834 and later maps have now disappeared from the landscape. Some have become pastures and the walls have been used for drain filling.

2. Where walls are still visible, the gardens are often over-grown with scrub and willows. The box and grisellini that would have been the perimeters of small plots have now grown into mature trees. At Horn Head House the grisellini is now as tall as the conifers planted nearby.

3. Some gardens have survived and are used for their original purpose - to provide fruit and vegetables for the household. At Rathmullan both hotels have excellent walled gardens. Gardens at Dunmore House and Carrablagh are maintained to a very high standard.

4. Some gardens are being restored by enthusiastic owners. When the initial plans were made for this survey, our first visit was to Letterkenny library where we went through all 107 Grand Jury maps compiled in 1834. Mrs. Anne Kavanagh and I spent many hours at this job and here I went to thank the staff, who handed out each map when requested. The next search was made in the O.S Memoirs. Lastly I wrote to members asking them to send me a list of walled gardens known to them. Thanks are owed to those who replied : Many Haggan and Mrs. Francesca Webber, Ramelton, Helena Howarth, Raphoe, Joy Craig, Newtowncunningham, Maurice Simms, Lifford and the South Donegal Garden Club. We began our research in March 2003 by making visits to the gardens whose owners gave us permission to visit. I wrote to everyone on the lists and the response was superb. Only three owners refused us access; the rest were delighted to participate and their hospitality was much appreciated. The Walled Gardens survey is still in progress. Many of the gardens listed here are in private ownership and are not open to the general public.

[1] For more information on the house and Wray family, see *The Wrays of Donegal, Londonderry and Antrim* by Charlotte Violet Trench, (Oxford, 1945)

2 Rev. Stopford A. Brooke was born here in 1832. Later in life he became acquainted with literary figures such as the poet Tennyson, Ruskin and William Morris.

3 Alister Rowan, *The Buildings of Ireland, North West Ulster,* (London, 1979) p. 475

4 Eddie O'Kane, "Cavanacor House, Lifford, and President Polk's Ancestors", *Donegal Annual,* No.41, 1989, pp. 72-74. The gallery at Cavanacor is open all the year round. The house and gardens are open at certain times by arrangement with the owners.

5 W.E.Vaughan, *Sin, Sheep and Scotsmen, John George Adair and the Derryveagh Evictions, 1861,* (Belfast, 1983) p.14. Adair evicted 244 persons. His wife died in 1921; in 1938, it was purchased by Henry McElhinney. In his book, *Burke's Guide to Country Houses; Ireland* (London, 1978) Mark Bence-Jones described the gardens as "one of the great gardens of the British Isles", p.139.

6 Henry Chichester Hart was the author of *Flora of the County of Donegal,* (Dublin, 1898) published by Sealy, Bryers and Walker. Other works included *Rare Plants of Donegal* and *Flora of Inishowen*. He acted as naturalist on expeditions to the North Pole and Sinai and later lectured in Natural Science in Queen's College, Galway. He died in 1908. The family owned the property until the early 1950s. As in Glenveagh National Park, rhododendrons formed a major part of the plantation. The original plantation included *Rhododendron Sinogrande, R. Grande, R. Falconeri* and many hybrids. In recent years, the rhododendron collection has been supplemented by new plants. The staff at Glenveagh National Park grew 4,000 plants from seeds brought back from China; some of these plants were allocated to Carrablagh House. (This information has been supplied by Mrs. John Mulcahy – *Editor)*

7 Edward Malins and Patrick Bowe, *Irish Gardens and Demesnes from 1830,* (London, 1980) p.133.

8 Clive J. Evans, "The Story of Bruckless House", *Donegal Annual,* No 43, (Ballyshannon , 1991) pp.86-98 The article includes references to former owners and a description of the gardens, the plants and a Stone Pine tree that dominates the driveway.

9 Maghtochair, *Inishowen, its History, Traditions and Antiquities,* (Carndonagh, 1935) p. 86. A full description of this picturesque glen and waterfall is given by Maghtochair, who first published the book in 1867, when he wrote, "Nothing in the North of Ireland…can equal its surpassing beauty".

10 Charles McGlinchey, *The Last of the Name,* (Belfast, 1986) p.76.

11 Amy Young, *Three Hundred Years in Innishowen,* (Belfast, 1939) p.86.

May McClintock lives at Glendooen, Letterkenny. She is Vice-President of Donegal Historical Society and a regular contributor to the *Donegal Annual*. She has written a number of books on the history of the county, including *After the Battering Ram:the trail of the Dispossessed from Glenveagh 1861,* (Letterkenny, 1991).

Photos: Editor, Donal McMenamin, Ethna Diver, Mrs. John Mulcahy and Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government.

DONEGAL IN INDUSTRY

MANUFACTURE OF TWEEDS

Members have requested publication of articles from former issues of the *Donegal Annual* which are out of print.
The title was first used in 1951.
This anonymous contribution is from Vol. 2 No. 2, 1952.
It was printed by the *Donegal Democrat*, Ballyshannon which has had a long association with the Society until 1999.
The President was Father Peadar Mac Loingsigh, P.P. and the Society had 136 members.

Long before the State-aided industrial drive of recent years, Donegal was playing a big part in Ireland's struggle for economic salvation. Back through the pages of nineteenth century history one finds names that are today world-known in the sphere of industry. Their progress from small beginnings makes reading of absorbing interest and to know about them is to find new hope for the future place which Ireland will hold in world affairs when the world, if ever, returns to anything like normality.

In these pages only a few of the industrial firms in the County at present can come under review, since it is history that is our concern. Thirty years from now, the history of modern beginners can be written. Let us hope it will prove as worthy of narration as those which we mention in the following pages.

Weavers of Donegal tweed still use the well-tried methods and hand looms of their forefathers, but their inherited skill is now linked with the most modern ideas of design, with the result that the industry has seen two post-war revolutions – the production of a lightweight cloth which is now being used extensively in women's suits and dresses, and the building up of a big export market.

Tweed has been handwoven amidst the hills of Donegal for centuries. The original type of tweed was made with a white or undyed warp and a brown speckled or black yarn woven across it giving a flecked appearance as opposed to Harris tweed made in Scotland, which has a solid or self colour. If one examines a piece of granite from any of the Donegal hills it has very much the

same colour as the original type of tweed and it is thought that this type was evolved because of the protective colouring it gave against the background of granite hills.

It is this type of tweed which is known throughout the world as Donegal tweed and this is one of the great difficulties in endeavouring to introduce legislation to protect the name “Donegal”, as while this type of Donegal handwoven tweed, in a new, firmer and more durable cloth is still made, people in the woollen trade throughout the world refer to the many imitations, with a white background and mottled weft as Donegal tweed-in a sense of tribute to the fame and name of the genuine article.

In the early part of this century a lot of the genuine tweed was being made in Donegal in the cottages throughout the country. Unfortunately there was no real supervision of quality and with a good demand there was a growing tendency not to keep the standard of quality as good as it should. The tweed was brought to the markets and fairs, usually in creels on the back of a donkey and there sold to one of a few firms engaged in the export and marketing of the tweed.

The firm of Magee, in Donegal Town, which is now one of the two big firms engaged in the industry, bought tweed like this, as far back as 1860. The difficulty however was that while the majority of the weavers made good cloth, sometimes a bad weaver would make cloth not up to standard and if this was exported it tended to give the tweeds a bad name, even if it was only one bad piece in a consignment.

Mr. Robert Temple, a Donegal man himself, entered the firm of Magee in 1887, the original Magee being a cousin of his, and became owner of the firm in 1901. He soon realised that if the Donegal tweed industry were to survive all the handweaving must be done under supervision and therefore, took steps to gather some of the best weavers around him in his own factory and to send out yarn only to the good weavers in the cottages, all cloth made being carefully examined in Donegal. That this was the right policy was proved by the fact that while the Donegal tweed industry diminished greatly after the first world war, Magees have continued to weave tweed all through this difficult period, and today export their cloths in increasing quantities all over the world. Mr. Robert Temple, now chairman of the Company, in his 84^{th} year still takes an active interest in the products of his firm and is regarded as one of the grand old men of Donegal.

It was always his policy to regard the employees of the firm as friends and many years ago when such a thing was uncommon he introduced a form of bonus or

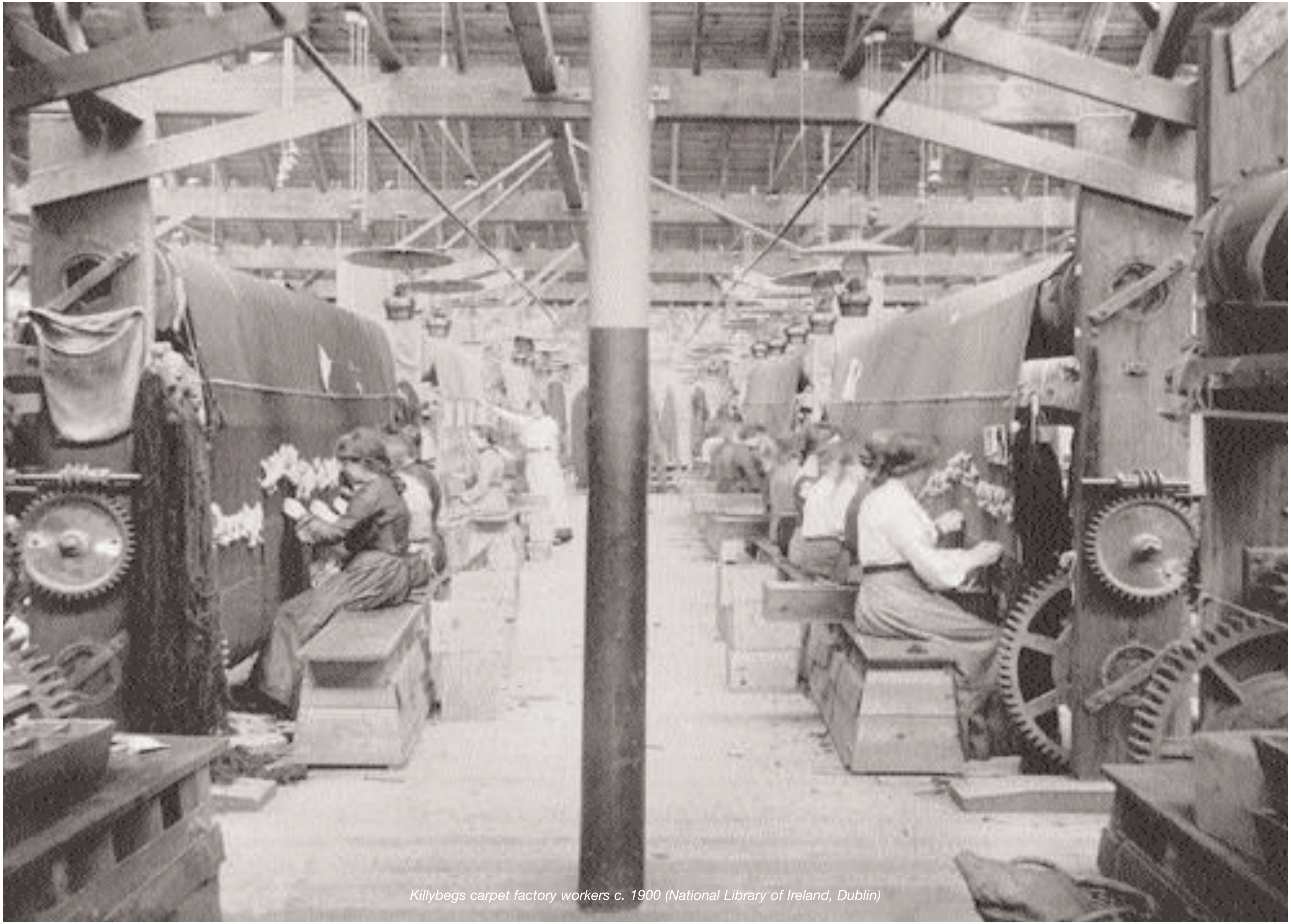
profit sharing. His son, Mr. H.L. Temple, Managing Director of the firm, firmly believes in the same policy. Magees regard service and value as being essential conditions for success in business. A staff pension fund was introduced a couple of years ago and was received with great enthusiasm by the staff.

Mr. R. Harris is Production and Export Manager and regularly visits the various export markets all over the world. Last autumn he visited America and Canada and as a result of his visit Magees have been able to increase the amount of employment they give. A substantial number of cottage weavers have been taken on. A new weaving centre has been opened by them in Glencolumbkille and work has just been completed on an extension to the Donegal factory. In addition to the tweed-making a shirt factory is in operation and an extensive wholesale business is done in suitings, hosiery and general drapery. Visitors are cordially invited to visit the factory and see for themselves the various activities which are carried on.

CARPET MAKING IN KILLYBEGS

Carpets on the world’s luxury ocean-going liners, the Queen Elizabeth and Queen Mary amongst them, on the floors of the houses of Parliament in Capetown, of Buckingham Palace, the Irish Embassy in London, Dublin Castle, and the Presidential residence, Arus an Uachtaráin in Phoenix Park, and in many other State institutions throughout the world, principally America and Canada, give Donegal craftsmanship an enviable place in the annals of the crafts. Killybegs carpets are world-famous. It is doubtful if any other industry in these islands attained the prominence in world affairs that this remotely placed Irish enterprise achieved in the days when the skill of man was free of the opposition of the machine.

The writer could not do better than reproduce here an article from the *Freeman’s Journal* of August 1890 as an outline of how this industry came into being.
“Everyone has long known that more essential to the permanent welfare of Ireland than even beneficent laws, would be the natural spread over her counties of active, healthy industries, but the difficulty has always been to find steady branches of industry that would not be too sorely handicapped by the absence of coal with its accompanying economy in power. Those who travel from Donegal to Galway and farther south, will admire the wild, rolling grandeur of the scenery, but they will be still more struck by the vast number of cottars’ huts dotted everywhere among the hills, considering the meagrenes of livelihood that must be snatched from those allotted roods of rock and bog. There is none of that natural richness of soil which yields golden harvests ungrudgingly; coal and iron,


Killybegs carpet factory workers c. 1900 (National Library of Ireland, Dublin)

that have made all the world elsewhere wealthy in modern times, have kept severely away from those districts, and it is patent to any observer that those who brave life there must content themselves with what luxuries hard work and patience can extract from bog or barren rock-a meagre fare enough, God knows!

Yet there they are. Thousands of those families have eked out their existence generation after generation for hundreds of years, and despite the terrible poverty it entails, there continues a power in those hills to attract and enfold the people, for many who wander away return again from the luxuriousness of the cities, or look back with yearning to the simple, hard life among the hills. Something pathetic there is in all this, yet of great virtue, and in those days when there is general lament over the depopulation of rural districts, and our teachers cry for a return to country-life, the feeling is surely one to be encouraged. Yet who would extol a life of such deplorable poverty as dependence on the soil among those highlands affords, and if we would have people in the rural districts, we must ensure them there higher comfort and easier access to the better things of life than can be snatched by slavish worming of a livelihood from utter barrenness. And there lies the problem: a people deeply attached to a land which is incapable of supporting them by ordinary means, for, after all, romance and poetry are but thin stuff for the stomach, and they have to dig from the bog or scratch from rock the fuel to keep the fire a-burning. To one going fresh among such a people, this work seems an enormous waste of human energy. One stroke of a McCormick machine in Colorado will reap more harvest than a Celt with his spade in a round year. Those rough, rumbling hills were never meant to be tilled, and the idea at once strikes a stranger, - is there nothing else these people can give, in order to draw in, in exchange, some of the bountifulness of the outside world! What of the sharp wits of the Celts, and the hundred-and-one fine qualities that tradition gives him by birth-right? What of that ability and nimbleness that are never without their outstanding examples in high quarters, and which seem to gleam from the ordinary Irishman under the commonest conditions? Surely the world has uses for those!

Some such ideas occur to all visitors to those parts, but some eighteen months ago the fact so caught hold of certain manufacturers of artistic textiles, touring there, that they resolved to make a practical experiment, especially as they were on the outlook at the time for districts where they could work a certain hand-industry that would employ large numbers of girls and boys. This resulted in their establishing, just a year ago next month, a place for the making of hand-tufted carpets of the description known as Turkish or Persian. The peculiarity of this fabric is that from its nature it must be a hand-production. The tufts, or "mosaics of small woollen squares", as William Morris calls them, are tied by the fingers in knots into longitudinal warps which are stretched between two long parallel

beams. The carpets are made to the size of any room. The design is placed in front and the girls from three to a dozen select the colours indicated row by row, which are tied, then bound down by "shoots" of woollen weft drawn across the entire width, and beaten firm by small iron-toothed hammers. There is interesting variety and pleasure in the work, and it is such that individual skill and workmanship come largely into play. Altogether it is just such an industry as is suited to the rural districts of Ireland. No steampower is required, and there is therefore no handicap on the commercial side by the absence of coal, and, the production being necessarily slow, a large proportion of the ultimate value comes from the labour. Moreover, the chief charm of these Carpets when finished is derived from the very fact that they are hand-tufted and have that stamp of individuality and irregularity that no power-loom can give. The manufacturers who have undertaken this venture make many varieties of carpeting by power-loom, and it was owing to strong demand from high-class customers over the world for a production of more individual character, that they were led to resort to this primitive method of weaving. The difference between a carpet produced in this way and the ordinary smoothly shaven power-loom production is much the same as that between a real oil painting and a smart coloured lithograph. The real article has dignity, individuality, and with the increase of good taste and wealth the demand for the genuine daily grows. Unlike "homespun" tweed and similar fabrics, the method is one requiring human thought in the process. It is therefore an industry which in its own way cannot be superseded by power-loom, and can be approached only by mechanism of a highly-complicated and uneconomical sort. Indeed it is this individual art character which has kept the Persian and Turkish carpets in steady demand for hundreds of years, and makes them more sought after to-day than ever. It was also the appreciation of this quality that led William Morris to establish hand-tuft carpet and tapestry looms at Hammersmith some 20 to 30 years ago, and the carpets being made in Donegal are of similar weave and character, though they do not aim at such exclusiveness.

The first year's experiment with the Irish girls has proved that they are admirably adapted for the work. The experience for generations of the little "Homespun" and lace work that are always to be met within Ireland has been a first- rate education, for the girls show a nimbleness of finger and sharpness of eye for colour and form that have quite astonished their teachers and they take to the work with a spirit and cheerfulness that is quite refreshing. So convinced are the promoters now of its ultimate large success that they have planned out a broad scheme that will spread this work all over the West of Ireland and give employment to many hundreds of girls and boys. In addition, and this is a most important feature, these goods being made entirely of wool, the scheme embraces the rearing of sufficient sheep on these Western Highlands to supply the entire requirements of the industry, and as this will be spun and dyed on the spot, the

composition of these high art productions that are ultimately to find their way into the best homes and halls the world over, will be entirely Irish. It is reckoned that one girl in this Industry will work up in a year the wool of 225 sheep. Thus, when the number of girls employed grows to 1,000-the matter it is expected of a very few years-it would mean the consumption of the fleeces of over 10,000 score of sheep annually, and a sum divided among the sheep-farmers of something like £15,000. Again, for the spinning, dyeing, and weaving of this wool, the families of those farmers or small holders would earn in wages from £20,000 to £30,000, making a total of perhaps £40,000 circulated annually among the inhabitants of those Donegal hills. So far as one can judge, the scheme is both feasible and eminently practicable. Confining their efforts entirely to Donegal at first, the promoters are building a place at Killybegs to accommodate over 400 workers, this quantity being available within a radius of two miles from the village. Having an ideal harbour, as well as a branch of the Donegal railway, Killybegs is meant to be the centre depot, where all wool will be collected, and spinning and dyeing done for the entire industry. Other branches, for weaving only, will be made at villages such as Kilcar, Ardara, Glenties, &c., and the products collected to the central depot for finishing and despatch. For more scattered and outlying parts where girls could not walk morning and evening to a factory, a simple device has been invented whereby, after the girls have learned the art, they can take the frame-loom to their homes, and weave the quaintly designed rugs or tapestry panels in their houses, or as they watch the sheep on the hillsides.

We are sure all wish success to this estimable and highly interesting enterprise. Those who have seen the Donegal carpets must agree that they need to depend on no "Support-Home-Industries" sentiment for trade. The choice touch of art in the design and colouring are the same that have already won for the promoters a world-wide reputation, and with the sound quality of the texture, we have little doubt that the Irish hand-made fabrics will soon bulk largely in the markets of the world. Already carpets have been made at Killybegs for some of the highest decorative art critics in England and America, and work is at present going on for important public buildings.

Now that the success of such a scheme has been established, it is to be hoped others will take advantage of this hitherto almost unrecognised vein of wealth in our Western Highlands. For by using the latent intelligence and activity of a people to convert the raw products of the hills into articles of high interchangeable value, they will link them to an outside world that can give in return comforts which the most slavish drudgery on bog could never approach. The wits of the people it is, after all, that form the real wealth of the hills, and if these can be properly tapped things undreamt of will doubtless spring up. Freed from the rude struggle for existence, and amid those inspiring hills, the inherent

qualities of the Celt will again assert themselves; the high ancient Civilisation will be recalled, with a new Celtic Art to interpret, as beautiful and distinctively national as any its history records.

It is gratifying to know that the Congested Districts (Government) Board have given the venture the heartiest support from the very outset, and the promoters, the Messrs. Morton, of Darval, Ayrshire, speak in high terms of the extreme courtesy and assistance they have met with everywhere, from priest and people alike."

August, 1899.

At present the factory is controlled by Messrs. Morton Sundour Fabrics, Ltd. Carlisle, which was founded by Alex Morton, who started the Killybegs factory. A native of Ayrshire, he died in 1924 at Bruckless, some miles from Killybegs, where he had resided for some years. His remains were interred in his native Ayrshire. He was succeeded as chairman of the Company by his son, Sir James Morton, who was noted for work of research in dye-dyeing processes. Sir James died in 1952 and was succeeded by his son, Jocelyn, the present chairman of the company.

If the commendable scheme originally planned by the founder of the factory did not materialise in full, it can be said that the experiment made at Killybegs fully justified itself, for ever since Killybegs and its carpets have been almost synonymous terms in many lands.

There are other industries which the writer would like to review here, but space does not permit. These are the knitwear industry at Glenties, which now "employs half the countryside", and the Belleek Pottery, which, though not of Donegal, is near enough its borders to give the county a pride in its world-fame; and, of course, Convoy woollen mills, the founding and development of which makes a story in itself. These and other worthy of note will be dealt with in the next and future numbers of the *Donegal Annual*.

The extracts below were not included in the original article but are added by the current Editor to provide additional information on Killybegs carpet factory:

"It was mentioned in our last Report that Messrs. Morton of Darval, Ayreshsire, had commenced the manufacture of hand-tufted carpets at Killybegs. One of the first two carpets produced was presented to Countess Cadogen and the other to one of the members of our Board, the Bishop of Raphoe. The former was exhibited at the Irish Industries Sale in Liverpool and was much admired. The latter was shown at the Bazaar in Letterkenny in November last, held in aid of the building of the new Cathedral. There are now about 25 girls employed and Messrs. Morton wish to enlarge their premises so

as to afford accommodation for at least 150 hands"
British Parliamentary Papers (BPP), *Eighth Report*, Congested Districts Board for Ireland, Cd. 9375, (Dublin, 1899), p. 25.
(The editor is indebted to Pat Dunleavy for providing access to his collection of Reports).

The following is an extract from the Royal Commission on Congestion which heard evidence in Donegal from 8 October to 19 October 1906. The Commission met at O'Donnell's Hotel in Burtonport on Thursday 11 October 1906 to hear the evidence of Very Rev. Mons. Walker, P.P.
"Mons. Walker: Mr. Morton who is a Scottish gentleman, and who was very kind and sympathetic to the people, undertook to start the carpet factories, and they are working now, one of them for two years and another for one and they are capable of accommodating 400 girls but at present there are 100 in one and 120 in the other….. I have from five to ten applications for every one who gets admission to the factories. They come to me asking to get into the place though the wages must be small. …A few of them might earn nine shillings a week but I suppose the average would not pass five or six shillings a week."

BPP, Royal Commission on Congestion in Ireland, *Appendix to the Second Report*, Cd. 3319, Evidence of Rev. Mons. Walker, par. 7008-7010, (Dublin, 1907), p.59.(The editor is indebted to Arthur Davidson, Ballinahinch, Co. Down for providing access to his copy of the Report).

Photos: *Donegal Annual*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1952; photograph of Killybegs carpet workers c. 1900 by permission of the Photographic Archive, National Library of Ireland.



Killybegs Carpet Factory Workers, c.1950. Extreme left, back row, is Catherine McShane who joined the firm in about 1920.

BRAM STOKER'S DONEGAL ROOTS

Billy Finn

It is surely a strange and intriguing coincidence that the authors of the classic gothic horror novels *Frankenstein* and *Dracula* have strong roots in Ballyshannon. The picturesque south Donegal town, sloping down to the Erne and the Atlantic, has an ancient misty atmosphere of its own, alongside modern development and humming traffic. Stories of ghosts, fairies, castles, battles and monks are all part of the local lore and the recent discovery of a previously unknown 13th century church and cemetery (with 1300 skeletons) adds to the sense of mystery and history.



Bram Stoker,1847-1912. His great-grandmother was Eliza O'Donnell, a descendant of Niall Garbh O'Donnell, cousin and rival of Red Hugh O'Donnell who died in Spain in 1602.

It is widely known that Elizabeth Dixon of Main Street, Ballyshannon was Mary Wollstonecraft`s mother. Mary Wollstonecraft was a writer of note and regarded as one of the first feminist authors. Her works, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* and *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* are held in high regard. Her daughter Mary Godwin subsequently married the poet Shelley and wrote the novel *Frankenstein* in 1817.

These facts are well documented but what is less widely known is Bram Stoker`s connection with Ballyshannon and Donegal. I stumbled across this surprising association when I read Paul Murray`s recent fascinating biography of Bram Stoker, '*From the Shadow of Dracula'*.[1] We must go to Glossop, Derbyshire to begin.

THOMAS THORNLEY (1)

Thomas Thornley of Glossop joined the 14th Regiment of Foot in 1762 and served in various locations such as Dover, Salisbury, Maidstone and Canterbury. He married his second wife, Ann Bower in Glossop, in 1782 and had a total of 8 off-spring. The older children were born and reared in Derbyshire. Then, Thornley retired from the 14th Foot circa 1784 and appears to have visited Spain at one time.

In 1795 he embarked for Ireland having joined the Essex Fencibles. He was part of an army `muster` in Ballyshannon in June 1798 and in September the records show that he was stationed in Boyle, Co. Roscommon at the height of the French involvement in the `98 Rebellion. He was promoted as Lieutenant Captain towards the end of 1798. [2] The Essex Fencibles were reported to have been ruthless in their dealings with the Irish rebels during and after the 1798 rebellion.

Two of Thomas Thornley`s sons, Thomas and James came to Ireland and also a daughter, Eleanor. The sons had joined the Essex Fencibles as ensigns and they both served in Ireland. Thomas (11) was in Killybegs and Belleek in 1799 and James served in Mohill and Nenagh. The Ballyshannon area must have made a major impression on the Thornleys because they all eventually settled in the locality. Ballyshannon had a number of military bases in the 1798 period and it is noticeable that Park Lane (*the Mall*) was the residence of several army officers. Apart from the Thornleys, Captain D. Urquhart, Half Pay Officer, ex- 84th Regiment also lived in Park Lane. Another Urquhart, William, Captain in the Royal Essex Regiment was buried in Ballyshannon in September 1798.

Thomas Thornley (1) served as a Barrack Master in Sheffield in 1813 and in Manchester in 1815 and returned to Ballyshannon after his retirement from the army on Half Pay. He died at the age of 83 in 1829 and was buried in St. Anne`s

graveyard. Captain Thornley's house in Park Lane (the Mall) was subse-quently taken over by the Provincial Bank and a branch was opened there in April 1835. The first manager was William Allingham, Senior, and his son William, the poet, also worked in the Provincial Bank in the Mall and later in Castle St. (now Allied Irish Bank).

THOMAS THORNLEY (11)

Thomas Thornley, a resident of Moyne, Donegal, who was a son of the first Thomas Thornley, also served in the Essex Fencibles. He lived in Dublin for a while and had property in Higginstown, Ballyshannon where a daughter Margaret was born in 1813. Thomas (111) and Eliza were two of his older children. A solicitor and gentleman farmer, he appears to have lived between Dublin and Moyne, Donegal.

From his residence at Moyne, Thomas wrote an article on farming in the Ballyshannon Herald in 1837. In the letter, headed **Observations of the Culture of Wheat from Thirty Years Experience**, he offered advice about the growing of wheat and his stated preference for red Lammas wheat which best suited the climate in the north-west. He makes reference to imports of wheat from Limerick:

"*Mr. Hamilton has imported from Limerick 25 tons of red and white wheat which will be disposed of at Coxtown Mills for the accommodation of farmers of our neighbourhood…the following obtained premiums: Arthur Corscadden, Reverend Gunn, George Farrell, David Stewart and John Cockburn*" [3]

Thomas Thornley (11) died from a slow and painful illness in July 1840, aged 63 and was buried in Ballyshannon in his father's grave. Curiously, in his obituary, the *Ballyshannon Herald* recorded his address as *The Moyne, Donegal*, rather than simply Moyne. The townland of Moyne is near Laghey, while the ancient name of an area between the Erne and the Drowes, including Higginstown, was 'The Moy' or Magh Ene (Magh = a plain).

JAMES THORNLEY (1)

James Thornley (1) was a brother of Thomas Thornley, Moyne. He married Frances Dickson in Ballyshannon in 1799. Frances was daughter of William Dickson, a wealthy landowner in the Templenew area, between Ballyshannon and Belleek. Interestingly, James Thornley, like his brother Thomas, had land and property in Higginstown and also at Finner circa 1833.

J.D. THORNLEY

The eldest son of the first James Thornley was **Joseph Dickson (J.D.) Thornley** who was employed as a Custom`s Officer in Ballyshannon in 1824 .He moved to Dundalk and Newry as Comptroller of Customs and later to Fowey, Cornwall where he died in 1846. He had married Maria Atkinson in Beaminster, Dorset in 1839.

JAMES THORNLEY (11)

James Thornley (11) was another son of the first James. He inherited the Templenew estate and married Margaret Chinnery (Folingsby) in 1846. Margaret Chinnery was an aunt of Henry Stubbs of Danby House, Ballyshannon. James Thornley (11) lived between 39 Rathmines Road, Dublin and Templenew, Ballyshannon. In 1876, he was recorded as a landowner in County Donegal, with 61 acres to his credit.[4] His only child, Ellen Thornley, "the heiress of Rathmines", married Charles Richard Hearn and passed on the Templenew land and property to her children Marguerite Murphy, Amy McDougal and Charles Robert Thornley Hearn. It was eventually sold off in the 1900`s.

The James Thornley family were very close to the Stokers and the first James Thornley lived in Dublin sometime after his wife Frances`s death in Ballyshannon in 1824. He subsequently lived at Marino Crescent, Clontarf where Abraham and Charlotte Stoker lived in the 1840`s. Frances or Fanny (a daughter of the first James) lived on in Templenew and was buried in Ballyshannon in 1885. Another daughter of the first James, Elizabeth Thornley, married Captain Thomas Strangeways, 23rd Reg. Foot and lived between Ballyshannon and Dublin. Most of James Thornley`s descendants transferred to Dublin by the end of the 19th century.

THOMAS THORNLEY (111) Grandfather of Bram Stoker

The third **Thomas Thornley,** of the 43rd Regiment was the most adventurous Thornley. He was born in Lancashire circa 1797 and joined the 43rd (Monmouthshire) Light Infantry Regiment in 1813, aged 17, as ensign. The 43rd Regiment had been involved in the Peninsular War and Thomas was stationed at Hythe from 1813 until 1814. Then, the 43rd Regiment went to the American War and Thomas was at the Battle of New Orleans in January 1815. The 43rd Regiment was recalled to Britain and then sent to France, arriving the day after the Battle of Waterloo in June 1815.[5] Thomas Thornley remained in France with the 1st Battalion, and was promoted as Lieutenant on 15th October 1815 vice- Major

General Bourke. He returned to Ballyshannon as Half Pay Officer in April 1817. Some of the tales about his military exploits included a long march where he walked asleep while being forced onwards by his older comrades! Soon after returning to Ireland, he married Matilda Blake in Ballyshannon on 3rd October 1817. The marriage entry is still to be seen in the records of St. Anne`s Church, Ballyshannon. Matilda Blake was a daughter of Richard Blake, Garracloon, Co. Mayo and Eliza O`Donnell, daughter of Manus O`Donnell, of the Newport branch of the Donegal O`Donnells.

Sir Neal O'Donnell, Newport, Count Manus O'Donnell, Major General in the Austrian Service and Eliza O'Donnell, wife of Richard Blake, all from the Newport line, were first cousins. They were descendents of Niall Garbh O'Donnell, cousin and rival of the celebrated Red Hugh O'Donnell (who died in Spain in 1602). A distant relative of Eliza O'Donnell was Connell (Karl) O'Donnell from the Larkfield line of the O'Donnell clan. Karl served with distinction in the Austrian army in 1756 and later became Governor of Transylvania ! One wonders if Bram Stoker was aware of the O'Donnell connection when he completed the novel *Dracula* 1897.

General George Blake, commander of the Irish rebels in Connacht during the Year of the French in 1798, was an older brother of Matilda Blake and he was hanged by the British immediately after the battle of Ballinamuck. He was buried in Tubberpatrick, Dromard, County Longford where a cross marks his resting place. **So, the joining of Thomas Thornley (111) and Matilda Blake in matrimony on the 3rd October 1817 in Ballyshannon was a potentially explosive mix, which included Essex Fencibles, 1798 rebels, and O`Donnells!**

Thomas Thornley (111) and his wife Matilda moved to Sligo sometime after their marriage and Thomas declared, in a subsequent letter to the military, that he had lived between the towns of Sligo and Ballyshannon from 1823 and 1828. His children were Charlotte (born 1818), Richard (born 1821) and Thomas Blake (1822). The birth place of the three children is a mystery as there are no records of their births or baptisms in Sligo or Ballyshannon. It is generally accepted that they were born in Sligo but it is quite possible that they were born in Ballyshannon, especiallly if the family did not depart from the Erne town before 1823. They lived in Correction Street in Sligo where there was a large jail. The cholera epidemic of August and September 1832 had a devastating effect on Sligo with five- eights of the population dying from the disease. In the middle of the catastrophe, Thomas and Matilda decided to flee with their family on the mail coach to Ballyshannon. They left a milk cow with neighbours and departed to avoid the deadly disease.

CHARLOTTE THORNLEY

Years later, Charlotte wrote a vivid account of the Sligo cholera epidemic of 1832 for her son Bram (Stoker) and it is a gruesome depiction of the harrowing events in Sligo. She also wrote of the gloomy coach journey to Donegal and the terrifying events which ensued. The coach was apprehended a few miles from Ballyshannon by a mob of men armed with sticks, scythes and pitchforks. They were headed by Dr. John Sheil and the coach was stopped and all the luggage taken off. The Thornley family were left on the roadside, *"cold, wet, hungry and well nigh hopeless".* However, their relations in Ballyshannon had heard of their situation and arrived in a carriage and a chaise and attempted to bring them into Ballyshannon. There, they were apprehended again and forced to drive straight on through the town. The fear of cholera was everywhere and travellers from Sligo were feared most of all.

"My uncle had an old friend, a Mrs. Walker, in Donegal…he advised our going there and wrote to beg her receive us for a while".

The family moved on through the rain and finally reached Donegal. The reception was the same there because of the cholera threat. The soldiers were called out and forced to protect the family from angry locals while the magistrates came together to make a decision.

"In the meantime, some kind person sent us out a large jug of hot tea and a loaf which we thankfully received. It was all the food we had that day".

The family were allowed to return the way they had come. The Thornleys held an emergency meeting and *"the drivers advised that we should wait till dark, and they would drive us by a back way to our cousins` house in Ballyshannon, where we were sure of shelter if we could once get there".*

This plan worked and at 10 o clock at night they arrived secretly without detection and were warmly received by their cousins. They were fed and their feet bathed when a crowd arrived, led by Dr. John Sheil and demanded that they be removed. However, the family refused to open the doors until the chief magistrate and two doctors arrived. They were let in on promising to abstain from violence, and the family had to submit to a medical examination. They were declared free from cholera, but the house in Ballyshannon was put into quarantine and no one let out for some days. Charlotte concluded her account thus :

"At the end of that time, we were able to live in peace till the plague had abated and we could return to Sligo. There, we found the streets grass-grown and five-eighths of the population dead. We had great reason to thank God who had spared us". [6]

It is claimed that Charlotte Thornley`s account of the cholera plague in Sligo and the flight to Ballyshannon and Donegal town influenced her son Bram Stoker when he commenced work on his novel *Dracula*. Certainly, the images of coffins, dead bodies, plague, desperate coach journeys and crowds of angry torch-bearing locals are all to be found in the classic vampire tale. While God had spared Charlotte`s family in 1832, hard times were to follow with the deaths of her brother Richard, aged 14 in 1834 and her mother Matilda in 1835 in Sligo. Charlotte claimed that she heard the banshee wail the night before her mother passed away.

Thomas Thornley (111) moved to Coleraine late in 1837 with his children Charlotte and Thomas Blake and joined the Constabulary as Sub- Inspector of police in Coleraine. [7] He married for a second time in 1838 to Claudia Gamble, nee Dalrymple. She was the second daughter of Captain Charles Dalrymple, of the 71st Regiment, Gills Cottage, Coleraine.[8] They lived in New Row, Coleraine and an infant son Charles D. Thornley died in 1840. More sadness followed in 1848 when the only surviving son Thomas Blake died in Canada at the age of 26 from fever. He had emigrated to Canada to manage a horse ranch there.



Charlotte (Thornley) Stoker (1818-1901), mother of Sir William and Bram Stoker.

Charlotte Thornley married Abraham Stoker in Coleraine in 1844 and moved to Clontarf, Dublin. They reared seven children and Charlotte was an active person, travelling widely and writing papers on hardship for women in the workhouses. She was a member of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland. She spoke at meetings and two of her papers were *"On Female Emigration from Workhouses"* and *"On the Necessity of a State Provision for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb of Ireland"*. Her two most distinguished children were Sir William Thornley Stoker, President of the Royal College of Surgeons, Dublin and Bram Stoker, author of Dracula. [1]

Charlotte`s father, Lieutenant Thomas Thornley was seriously wounded while on active duty as Sub- Inspector of police on 12th December 1849 and died of his wounds on 30th April 1850 in Cushendall, County Antrim. He had certainly lived a full and often tragic life, dying at a relatively young age, circa 54 years.

AFTERMATH

Although the Thornleys have long departed from the Ballyshannon area, three local places of interest provide evidence of their time in the north- west of Ireland :
St. Anne`s graveyard , Higginstown House and Templenew House.



Templenew House, between Ballyshannon and Belleek, former home of James Thornley (1812-1883)



St. Annes's Church and graveyard, Ballyshannon. Bram Stoker's grandparents Lieut.Thomas Thornley , 43rd Regiment and Matilda Blake were married in this church on 3 October 1817. Bram Stoker's Thornley ancestors were buried in the adjoining graveyard.

Three flat table headstones in St. Anne`s graveyard can be seen in the corner to the right of the church tower, near the Stubbs graves. One grave holds the remains of Captain Thomas Thornley (1), Essex Fencibles and his son Thomas (11) of Moyne.
The second grave contains Eleanor Thornley, daughter of the first Thomas and Elenor Mary, daughter of the first James. The final grave holds Frances Thornley, wife of the first James and her daughter Frances who died at Templenew on 1st January 1885. [9]
Higginstown House, normally associated with the Coane family, was at one time the property of James Thornley (circa 1839). [10] Templenew House, former home of James Thornley (11) still stands in excellent condition on the road from Ballyshannon to Belleek .

Footnote

Lieutenant Thomas Thornley`s (111) first wife Matilda and their eldest son Richard were buried in St. John`s graveyard, Sligo. Claudia Dalrymple Thornley, second wife of Lieutenant Thomas Thornley (111) and their infant son Charles died in Coleraine and the Lieutenant himself died in Cushendall, Antrim. James Thornley (1), his son James Thornley (11) and most of their families were interred in Mount Jerome Cemetery, Harold`s Cross, Dublin. In the same cemetery, Charlotte Stoker, her son Sir William Thornley Stoker and his wife Emily were buried. [11]Bram Stoker died in London in April 1912 and was cremated in Golders Green Crematorium.

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Donegal County Library, *Letterkenny, Bundoran, Ballyshannon*
Enniskillen Library, *Western Education & Library Board*

This article is published in memory of the late Lucius Emerson who provided much information and advice on military matters in the 1798 - 1815 era.

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Photos : the author.

THE TITHE DISTURBANCES IN CLONMANY

Godfrey F. Duffy

INTRODUCTION

My research for this article is based on a collection of letters written in 1838 and held at the National Archives in Dublin[1]. As far as I can ascertain they have never been transcribed or used as a historical source for Clonmany parish. The letters were written during the visit of landowner, Mrs Emily Merrick, to the parish to recover tithe and rent arrears owed by her tenants. She was pursuing this with the help of her land agent Michael Doherty of Glen House and her bailiffs .The tithe was a tax for the upkeep of the established church and was bitterly resented by Catholic tenants throughout Ireland who saw it as an additional burden on the rents they already paid. It resulted in the *Tithe Wars* of the 1830s, which pitted tenants and secret organisations against landlords, tithe proctors, bailiffs and the police. Clonmany did not remain unscathed in these troubled times and the letters tell part of that untold story.

In 1769 George Charleton came from Strabane to Clonmany parish and acquired the townlands of Dunaff and Leenan.[2] The story of his visit is supported by the oral tradition of Charles McGlinchey (1861-1954) in his memoirs.

"The day he arrived to see the place a big crowd of Urris men were down about Roxtown and Tullagh gathering seaweed so he wanted some of them to show him the extent of it. None of the men wanted to waste the day but one of them came forward."

That man was Neil Doherty who became Charleton's agent *"and lifted rents, and as well got the job lifting the cuts and later became tithe proctor. A daughter of Charleton's who was a Mrs Merricks, became owner of the estate but she lived in England and kept Niall Seán as agent."*[3] Emily Charleton (later Merrick) was in fact a daughter of George Charleton's second marriage to Charlotte Smith. By his first marriage to Frances Hart in 1775 he had had a son William and a daughter Alicia [4].

Neil Doherty was able to increase his wealth over the years as the parish curate, the Rev Molloy described in 1814. *"Neal Shane who is the most eminent man in the parish, if we consider, that about thirty years ago, he probably was not worth £30, and now is worth at least £10,000, which he has acquired by his own cleverness"* [5]. McGlinchey adds: *" It was during Mrs Merrick's time that Niall Seán took over part of her estate and set up as landlord at the Glen House"* [6]. Niall was succeeded in his position of land agent by his son Michael who became Mrs Merrick's agent.

Major William Charleton took over the estate from his father but was often away on foreign service and Alicia and Emily effectively ran the estate. Neither Alicia nor William married and in 1825 William died. In 1826 Mrs Merrick took over sole management of the estate and visited Clonmany to meet her tenants and have her estate surveyed, valued and a rent roll compiled. As proprietor, she was in touch with events in Clonmany through her land agents.

In 1838 the *Tithe Rent Charge Act* absorbed tithe payments into ordinary rents payable by the landowner. This may have been the reason for her visit in 1838. It was a final attempt to recover her rent and tithe arrears from her tenants. The letters give us an insight into the disturbed state of the parish and the animosity Mrs Merrick felt for her tenants and Captain Roberts, the Stipendiary Magistrate and the close feelings for her agent and bailiffs. The letters were written to local officials and those in high office, including the Lord Lieutenant Lord Mulgrave, Chief Secretary Lord Morpeth and the Under Secretary Thomas Drummond. In her last letter dated 8 November 1838 she writes, *"I am on the eve of leaving Clonmany for some time"* and this seems to have been the case.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

During her visit to Clonmany Mrs Merrick stayed with her agent Michael Doherty at Glen House. In a letter to the Lord Justices she gives a brief history of how she and her sister succeeded to the estate on the death of her brother Major Charleton.

"In 1825 my sister and myself succeeded to his property, as I had been in the habit of acting for my brother in his almost continual absence on foreign service (my sister after his demise requested I would take the entire management of our estate in preference to her acting jointly with me). In the spring of 1826 I came to Innishowen to visit my property wishing to become personally acquainted with the tenantry, as also to ascertain from my own observations its actual state preparatory to having it surveyed, valued & to let, as was my brother's intention, the leases granted by my father having expired; this intention I carried into effect & when the surveyor was going on the estate, my directions to him were that his valuation should be made late wishing my tenants to live in comfort & pay rents with ease – the amount of which my property was valued was

£1734 –per annum & when the surveyor handed his valuation to me the observation he made was, that if I let the land at a lower rate than he had valued it at, I should rather injure than do good to my tenantry – not withstanding this advice, so anxious did I feel to ensure the comfort as far as in my power of every individual depending on me, that previous to letting my property I examined most carefully with Mr Doherty (who with his father have been agents to my family for more than sixty years & well acquainted with every acre on the estate)the circumstances of each tenant's farm, & the result was my making out a rent roll reducing the amount from £1734 to £1410 – besides which I gave my tenantry the privilege of collecting an ample supply of sea manure free of any charge, although most landlords possessing such an advantage charge each tenant seven or eight shillings"

As regards the issuing of leases at the time she adds,

'My tenantry had agreed to take their farms for 21 years at the rent I proposed; they expressed themselves well satisfied with their bargains & requested I would not put them to the expense of taking leases, as they considered my word as sincere to them; I have been recommended by my legal advisor to endeavour to recover part of the arrears due to me by civil will process and also to evict two or three more of my resisting as well as my wealthy tenants; such however is the combination against me I have not yet been able to get the necessary papers served……. I beg to enclose for your Lordships' inspection a list I made of tenants whom I intend taking legal proceedings against if I can effect the service of the justices, the amount of arrears due by each, will I think prove to an initial judge that I have not been a hard unfeeling creditor."[7]

It does not appear that Mrs Merrick took action against all the tenants as at least two of them continued in their holdings, including my ancestor Mary Duffy, a widow living at Tullagh who was still there by the time of the 1857 Primary Valuation.

'THIS DISTURBED PARISH'

According to Mrs Merrick Inishowen in general had been disturbed from 1832. She believed that Clonmany was in a very lawless state, adding that hordes of peasants were on the march, threatening agents, levelling pounds and beating bailiffs. Over a thousand people surrounded Doherty's house and demanded substantial rent reductions. She added that a number of landed proprietors did accede to demands but that she had no intention of making any reductions in rent.[8] Trouble certainly had been brewing from the previous year. When she tried to collect rents and arrears of tithes, she encountered stiff opposition.[9] She continually pleaded for police reinforcements and a resident magistrate to be sent

to the parish. [10]

Mrs Merrick made clear her legal position:

"Under Lord Stanley's Act I am obliged to pay the tithe composition for my tenantry & whenever I made an attempt to have it collected not only is the tithe not paid by them but they immediately with hold all payment of rents & the same act that makes me responsible to the rector empowers me to add the tithe composition to my tenants' rent & collect it as such. This right I am quite determined to enforce nor will I allow either outrage or opposition to prevent my using every means within my own force to have the amount due to me collected."[11]

Lord Stanley, Chief Secretary, (1830-1834) was responsible for the 1832 Act which made the composition of tithe for money payment compulsory. The Coercion Act of 1833 gave the Lord Lieutenant power to suppress public meetings and proclaim areas as disturbed. Lord Morpeth and a more liberal administration which included Thomas Drummond replaced Lord Stanley.

Later she wrote, *"I have been totally unable to pay Mr Dobbs (the rector of the parish) the tithe composition due on my property. That gentleman did last Nov & his heirs require immediate payment of £609 the amount of four years tithe composition for which I am made responsible under Lord Stanley's Act. I have endeavoured to enforce my legal claims, by having recourse to the very unpleasant alternative of ejecting six of my most refractory tenants, not any of whom however owed less than two, & some three, & three & a half years rent in addition to four years tithe"*.[12]

So it seemed with Mrs Merrick's fortitude and the tenants' spirit of resistance the stage was set for further confrontation. Perhaps feeling that the administration in Dublin was too liberal and saw the tenants' viewpoint, she threatened that she would take matters further if her requests were not met:

" I will as my only alternative have a statement of facts laid before the House of Commons together with a detail of the circumstances under which I am acting & the various applications I have made to the Lord Lieutenant with the caustic reports of the priests & the officials in this neighbourhood; having a number of friends among the ministers on the Conservative side of the House, I shall hope to have the disturbed state of the barony of Ennishowen, properly represented & by that means succeed in obtaining the protection I have so long applied for in vain to the Lord Lieutenant."[13]

She outlined her tenants' views as well as her own desperate situation:

"My tenantry declare their determination to lose their lives rather than pay tithe under any name or form but they likewise withhold all payments of my rents" [14]

A letter from the Senior Winter Service Clerk to Lord Morpeth seems to support Mrs Merrick's circumstances:

"My Lord, the object of Mrs Merrick's visit to her property, is for the purpose of providing the means for the support of her orphan children, her aged mother, & her sister, and such is the resistance she has met with in an attempt in collecting rent, that she and they are now experiencing the greatest prevailing difficulties, while she is at the same time threatened with a Sessions Law suit for the payment of Tithes, which she has not the means of enforcing the payment of by her tenantry."[15]

However in the opinion of Captain John Roberts, the stipendiary magistrate based in Buncrana the present troubles could be traced back to 1826:

"Farms were surveyed and valued; £300 per annum was added to the control of Mrs. Merrick's property from the great fall in produce. Since that period, they complain of not being able to pay the Rents, and are demanding a new valuation and to pay the tithes in addition which has been refused."[16] *All the discontent which has latterly existed in this parish proceeds from the collection of this tax, and the different obstructions which her bailiffs have met with has arisen from the tithe being demanded with the rent."*[17]

BAILIFFS AND RIBBONMEN

The reasons for Mrs Merrick's visit were not in question, namely to collect her rent and tithe arrears. The officials did not question this but what they did question was the methods of the bailiffs and the character of her agent Michael Doherty:

"The Police Constable tells me that the bailiffs go out at night and lie along side the ditches to be able to serve the tenants in the more remote parts of the parish when they open their cabin doors in the morning. It has created a degree of excitement and alarm amongst the tenantry in general and should the numerous families who are served with notices to quit be turned out, it would be presumption in me to anticipate any thing less than outrage and disorder.[18]

I thought it a fair opportunity to acquaint the Magistrates of the different acts of hardship and apprehension charged against Mr Doherty the agent, his sons and Bailiffs – his defence to these charges was 'The more you grind them the better they will like you, and if you treat them kindly they don't regard you'. I called the *attention of the Magistrates to this diabolical expression*."[19]

The Constabulary reports recorded attacks on various bailiffs usually at their

homes. The house of Patrick McGonagle of Magheranaul, a bailiff or driver in the employ of Mr Michael Doherty of Glen House, Clonmany, was surrounded by about twenty persons.[20] McGonagle was threatened by armed men and asked if he had heard of the *'Dark Club'* after which he was beaten and warned to discontinue driving the tenants' cattle to the pounds. Early the same morning bailiff Neal Tolan of *Bratley* (sic) was also beaten and warned about driving. Although both bailiffs made statements about being beaten they did not attend the dispensary for medical aid and later when questioned stated that they could not identify any of the attackers. It seems like a clear case of witnesses afraid to give evidence. However Capt. Roberts had his own ideas:

"I have a suspicion that in most instances the parties are perfectly known to the bailiffs, who are glad of a pretext to give up the employment. At all events it is perfectly clear from the nature of these attacks, that it is for the purpose of intimidation and not to commit any serious bodily injury." [21]

Mrs Merrick saw attacks on her bailiffs differently:

"The house of Patrick McLaughlin my principal bailiff was broken into by a party of men who beat him most cruelly, tore his clothes to pieces, destroyed all his furniture, crockery in his house & the savage assailants not content with this inhumanely treating him attacked his wife & children to the former of whom they gave some disparate blows on her head & other parts of her body." [22]

She went on to warn their Excellencies that disorder could spread to other parishes "*unless prompt and effectual means are taken to check the rebellion in this district (the very hot bed of sedition).* [23] *This district never will be tranquillised until some strong measures are resorted to for that purpose and if your Excellencies would put Clonmany under martial law & order a military force to be stationed here (as was the case during the disturbances in 1832 & 1833).'*[24] *But 12 Policemen, which is the increased force at this station are powerless among the thousands of disaffected people in the neighbourhood, the stronghold of combinations & illegal societies* [25] *For myself I live in the constant & horrible dread of being murdered, nor does my agent ever go out on business that I do not expect to see him brought home a corpse.*"[26]

Perhaps there may have been some truth in this considering the attack on Glen House. Mrs Merrick was convinced that a Ribbon network existed within the parish conspiring with her disaffected tenants to thwart her best efforts to recover her rent and tithe. [27] Once again there may be some truth in this, going back to McGonagle's reference to the *'Dark Club'* noted in the Chief Constable's report. The Chief Constable took a serious view of the matter:

"It appears that the police of Clonmany a few days since heard that a secret

society has or is about to be formed under that name in opposition to the 'John Wright Men' a society which proved troublesome in the District from 1832." [28]

On this topic ,Captain Roberts later wrote to the Chief Constable, Mr H Jones:

"I also request if you have heard any report of an organized Ribbon system openly and daringly carried on in the district. And whether in your intercourse with the Coast Guard or Revenue Officer of that District such a report had been made to you." [29]

The reply came swiftly from Mr Jones. *'With regard to your enquiry as to my having heard any report of an organised Ribbon system being operated and daringly carried on in the District and whether in any interviews with the Coast Guard or Revenue officers of that District such a report had been made to one. I have to state that at one interview with Mrs Merrick she told me that Mr Hungerford the officer of the Coast Guard who had recently taken charge of the station had reported to her that in no part of Ireland that he had served in had he witnessed a District in so disorder and lawless a state. I took the opportunity of asking that officer whether he had made such a statement to Mrs Merrick or at the house of her agent Mr Doherty. He declared that he never gave an opinion adding that he never as far as his observation went found people more peaceable and well disposed."* [30]

These views concerning the tenantry were also echoed by Captain Roberts.

"The Peasantry in this part of the country are not sanguinary; they appear to me as simple and peaceable a people as I have ever met with, and I really believe if they were treated with a little more kindness, there would have been no occasion for proceeding to the present extremities." [31]

A very similar sentiment with regard to the character of the tenantry was expressed by the Church of Ireland curate, Francis Molloy in 1814 :

"They are remarkably sober, regular, and attentive to business, spirited, warlike, and courageous, yet not by any means quarrelsome; they are charitable to the poor, and a kind good-natured peasantry as ever I knew." [32]

As to the ongoing disturbances and the requests for police reinforcements Captain Roberts expressed doubts as to whether the attackers could be traced and if increased numbers of police would make any difference:

"As to the Police being able to detect the perpetrators of these outrages, it is next to an impossibility, every movement they make is watched and the nature of this mountainous wild district is such that they accomplish their object with facility were

there 4 times the force of Police, which are at present in the parish." [33]

He does not however shrug off his duties as a magistrate. *"I declare on my honour, that I could not have exerted myself more than I have done in trying to put down outrage in Clonmany. I have been out separately on patrol with the Police and made many primary sacrifices to try and obtain informations."* [34]

A meeting of the local magistrates was held at Buncrana on 29 May 1838 to consider the attack on Glen House. Those present were Daniel Todd (chairman & magistrate), the Rev Peter Benson Maxwell (magistrate & first cousin of Mrs Merrick), Charles Norman (magistrate), Thomas Keough (magistrate) and Captain John Roberts (magistrate). Apologies were from Mr A. Ferguson (magistrate). The outcome of the meeting was that they recommended to Dublin Castle a substantial constabulary or military force and a resident magistrate to be stationed in Clonmany.

In the opinion of Captain Roberts a police force of 10 men would be sufficient and he was ordered to remain in Clonmany. In a letter written at Binnion he stated,

"At my lodging in a farmhouse here, which was the only place I could get, but Mrs Merrick is a very violent person and would expect that the Police should act as her drivers and the Stipendiary Magistrate as her Tithe Proctor." [35]

The ongoing differences between Captain Roberts and Mrs Merrick become apparent in the letters from May onwards:

"He is constantly asserting that as my tenants are 'tenants - at - will' I have no right to make them pay tithe. Captain Roberts also gives it as his opinion that I should be quite satisfied with getting my rents & paying my tithe. That my estate is let too high a rate & my tenants are beggars." [36]

She also defended her employees: *"Captain Roberts has besides attacked the character of Mr Doherty (my agent) & his sons, accusing them of committing on my estate acts of tyranny.'"* [37] The letters continue with Mrs Merrick accusing Roberts of undermining her as he defended himself against the accusations and added a few of his own. It is evident that although Mrs Merrick desires a resident magistrate she objected to Captain Roberts being appointed to that position. As for Roberts he wanted to be transferred out of the district in which he had served in 1832 and 1834: *"I am at the moment in very indifferent health, the severity of this climate & severe wettings that I have latterly had here have impaired my health considerably and I think if I got a milder climate it would reinstate me."* [38]

ATTACK ON GLEN HOUSE

At about 1 am on Sunday 27th May 1838 Glen house in Straid townland was attacked by a large group of armed men. There was a brief account made by Mr Jones in his constabulary report:

"Glen House was attacked with stones and 37 panes of glass demolished; several shots were fired and the principal entrance door perforated with small shot. In the rear of the house a ball was fired through the kitchen window." [39]

Captain Robert's account was similar to that of Mr Jones:

"The account by Mr Doherty's son was that he thought they fired about 80 shots.The only cause that can be assigned for this violent outrage is that Mrs Merrick who leases the property (and to whom Mr Doherty is agent) has been inforcing the payment of 4 years arrears of tithe, and has a number of cattle now in the pounds of Malin and Buncrana for these arrears." [40] *Mr Doherty's harshness and aggression as an agent has caused great & violent discontent amongst the tenantry."* [41]

Mrs Merrick's account was more detailed and personal. She wrote that the house, *"was attacked by a party of armed men & several shots fired into different parts of it, showering large stones thrown at the windows; every effort made to force open the hall door which was fortunately prevented by loaded guns being discharged from within at assailants."* [42]

Michael Doherty also requested to have two policemen based in his house over night and this request was complied with. The Rev P. B. Maxwell based at Birdstown in Fahan wrote a letter to Thomas Drummond supporting his cousin Mrs Merrick and he thought her tenantry to be *'people arrayed in defiance of the law & believed to be associated in formidable clubs.'* [43]

Mrs Merrick, in her letter to the Justices, covered the attack in more detail stating that on the night of the attack she had two pistols on her bedroom table. She had been woken by the breaking of glass in her own room and picked up the pistols and fled into the lobby where she met a servant and gave him a pistol. She continued in her letter:

"I met one of Mr Doherty's sons a fine lad of sixteen who had been awoken with the noise, to him I gave the second pistol requesting him to discharge it at the assailants – by this time Mr & Mrs Doherty and the servants were assembled & a good supply of firearms brought into action when the murderous party thought it prudent to retreat, shouting & keeping up constant discharge of firearms; in passing the kitchen they fired into the window where one of Mr Doherty's sons and a man were standing to prevent if possible a forced entrance, the bullet passed between them & made a large hole in the opposite wall." [44] Interestingly, she added that a paper packet of gunpowder was found near the garden wall. [45]

Thomas Drummond replied to Mrs Merrick on behalf of their Excellencies refusing to appoint another magistrate in place of Captain Roberts. [46] He went further referring to a letter of 14 October 1835, which suggested non-interference by the authorities, should Mrs Merrick continue to take punitive actions against her tenants.



Glen House, Clonmany

THE CASE OF HUGH BRADLEY

Even with an increased police presence opposition to Mrs Merrick's claims continued through the year.

On the night of the 30th September 1838 at about 10 o'clock there was an attack in Tullagh townland. *"From fifteen to twenty men entered the house of Hugh Bradley (a bailiff to Mrs Merrick) who was sitting before the fire; the outer door being opened they commenced beating him with sticks; he escaped into the road and got into the house of the Rev. Wm. O'Donnell, the parish priest, distant only about five yards; the party then fired two shots and returned over the mountain. Mr O'Donnell who was in bed got up in*

order to discharge his gun at them but it misfired." [47]

Mr Jones made reference to a previous attack at Bradley's house on 22 July. *"On the same night Charles Duffy's house (another of Mrs Merrick's bailiffs) was forced and himself beaten with sticks."* [48] Once again the victims could not or would not identify their assailants.

Mrs Merrick wrote to Lord Morpeth:

"I should not probably trouble your Lordship with a detail of these circumstances, was this a solitary outrage committed against persons employed by me to collect my rents. My estate is in the parish of Clonmany & I beg to refer your Lordship to letters addressed by me to Mr.Drummond, to the Lord Justices & others addressed to Their Excellencies subsequent to that period all detailing a system of combination & outrage carried on against me & those employed in my service." [49]

In the case of Hugh Bradley she decided to offer a reward for the discovery of his attackers. *"A copy of the advertisement I beg to enclose & I think if the Lord Lieutenant would have the goodness also to offer a reward & promise of pardon to any party concerned in the outrage who would give such information as would lead to a conviction of the offenders."* [50]

A poster was issued on 6th October offering a reward of £30 to any person who could give information on the persons who entered Hugh Bradley's house. The Chief Constable, H. Jones signed it. Mrs Merrick was not happy with this poster



£30 REWARD.

I HEREBY Offer a REWARD of THIRTY POUNDS To any Person who shall, within Six Months from the date hereof, give me such information as may enable me to discover and bring to justice all or any of the Persons who entered *Hugh Bradley's* House, at *Tullagh*, in the Parish of *Clonmany*, and County of *Donegal*, on the night of the 30th of September, and beat him with sticks with which they were armed.

H. JONES,
Chief Constable.

BUNCRANA, *6th October*, 1838.

£100 Reward.

WHEREAS, the House of HUGH BRADLEY, one of my Bailiffs, was broken into by an armed Party of Men, on the Night of Sunday, the 30th September, himself barbarously attacked and beaten, and several shots fired into his House; and as this is but one of a series of similar Outrages which have been perpetrated against Persons employed by me, in the collection of my Rents, I hereby offer a Reward of

One Hundred Pounds

to be paid to any Person or Persons who will prosecute to conviction any of the Persons concerned in said cruel attack on my Bailiff, or FIFTY POUNDS Reward for such private Information as will lead to the discovery of any of the said Offenders.

EMILY E. MERRICK.

Clonmany, October 1st, 1838.

and she pointed out to Lord Morpeth that it did not promise a pardon to those who gave information but may have been involved. Dublin Castle's letter to Mrs Merrick dated the 21st October agreed with this, stating a pardon would be offered to those who provided information but did not strike Bradley. So it was possible another poster was issued after the 21st October.

There is evidence of an earlier poster issued by Mrs Merrick on the 1st October offering £100 to be paid to any person who could help to secure a conviction of those who attacked Bradley and a £50 reward for any information that would lead to the discovery of the attackers. It has not been possible to discover if there was a response to these offers of reward. However based on the evidence so far it would seem unlikely there was any response.

Captain Roberts made his own comments on the case:

"Bradley and his wife cannot or will not identify any of the parties . [51] *It is not true that his house was fired into nor that he was barbarously beaten. Her man got a cut head, and was bruised about the arms, but so far from the injury being of a serious nature. He was the following day attending a wedding."* [52]

SUMMARY

The 1830s in Ireland was a period of extensive civil disorder characterised by the *Tithe Wars*. Lord Grey announced in the British Parliament that in Ireland in 1832 there had been 9,000 crimes of violence, almost exclusively agrarian in nature. From the start the tithe was resented by a mainly Catholic populace and when Lord Stanley's 1832 Tithe Act changed payment in kind to a financial payment this was bitterly resented and seen as an extra financial burden. Throughout Ireland refusal to pay the tithe and rent occurred. On one hand, the Church of Ireland clergy were owed substantial amounts of tithe and pleaded destitution. The Clergy Relief Act gave them a grant on security of arrears of tithe but hardly any tithes were collected and a substantial police or military presence was needed. To put pressure on the tenants their farm stock was impounded and notices to quit were issued. On the other hand, the resistance of the tenantry was supported by the Catholic clergy and augmented by the revival and expansion of secret societies such as the *Ribbon men* who dispensed rough justice to those they considered the enemies of the tenantry, namely tithe-proctors, bailiffs and landlords. From 1834 a more liberal administration in Dublin, under Lord Mulgrave resolved to govern justly, firmly and impartially and to break with the old Ascendancy Party. Protestants and Catholics, landlords and tenants were to be treated equally. The landlords were now responsible for paying the tithe,

which was to be collected from the tenants .The Tithe Rent Act of 1838 combined the tithe with a reduced rent payable by the tenantry.

Against this background Emily Merrick arrived with a determination to recover her tithe and rent arrears using due process of law and her land agent and bailiffs. Her petitions to the Irish Executive seemed to have had little effect, although after various outrages the police presence was increased. The resistance of the tenantry was determined and aided by the *Ribbon men*. There was obviously a personality clash between Mrs Merrick and the stipendiary magistrate, John Roberts who seemed to have more sympathy for her tenants much to her annoyance. She left at the end of 1838 still complaining that the parish was disturbed.



Staid Church of Ireland, Clonmany

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Church of Ireland Graveyard, Clonmany, Co.Donegal

Charleton Gravestone Inscription

Under this stone are deposited the remains of Mrs Frances Charleton who died in the bloom of youth June 1st 1786 aged 29 years. She sustained a long and painful illness with the patience and fortitude of a Christian humbly and actively resigned to the will of God. This stone is erected by her [illegible] and fondly attached husband. Her children arise and call her blessed. Her husband also and he praiseth her. Sacred also to the memory of George Charleton who departed this life the 12th Sep 1801 aged 55 years. The tears of the widow and orphan and the lamentation of the poor and friendless is the most eloquent language and the best and truest tribute to the virtues of the deceased. He possessed the soundest judgement truly charitable and honest heart added to the most un swerving principle and uprightness of condition.

He that walketh upright walketh surely
The memory of the just is blessed

Photos: the Editor

THE OTHERWORLD, THE UNDERWORLD AND THE UNDERWATER WORLD IN DONEGAL FOLKLORE.

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Both the Underworld and Otherworld feature in Celtic mythology. The underworld wasn't a faraway place; it was immediately under the earth and was likely a survival of the old pre-Celtic earth religion. People believed that the cauldron of life lay deep underground and all life came from the earth mother. Megalithic people didn't think of themselves as individuals but as part of the 'Great Cosmos'.

The Underworld was not thought of as a hell or place of punishment; instead, it was the primal, creative place where mortals and the gods of the Underworld entered into special relationships.

On the other hand the Otherworld was many days sailing to the west in the direction of the setting sun[1].Over the centuries both Underworld and Otherworld got so confused and blended that it is now very difficult to disentangle the two traditions.

THE OTHERWORLD

The Otherworld was a general term for the various lands of the gods, both good and evil and for the place where one was reborn after death. The basic belief was that death was only a changing of place and that life went on in another world, a world of the dead, which gave up living souls to this world on occasion.

The Otherworld was a timeless land: if humans sojourned there before death, they would remain young whilst there, but age instantly when they returned[2]. This happened in one of Ireland's best known stories of the Fenian cycle – Oisín

i dTír na n-Óg. There were many names for the Otherworld: the Fortunate Isles, Tír faoi Thonn, (Land under the Wave), Hy-Brasail (Breasal's Island), Hy-Falga (Falga's Island) and Dún Scáth, (Fortress of Shadows)[3].

Apart from the dark forbidding Dún Scáth where Cúchulainn spent some time, these worlds were all reputed to be beautiful lands where the inhabitants lived carefree lives knowing neither sorrow nor death. Writers describe them as the Elysium or heaven of the pagan Gaels that lay vaguely somewhere out in the Atlantic Ocean. There may be in the story some dim memory of the lost continent of Atlantis[4].

Unlike the Christian heaven which was situated up in the cold sky, the Otherworld was thought to lie in the western ocean warmed by the water of the Gulf Stream.

The Otherworld well of wisdom was believed to lie beneath the Sea of Tír Tairnigire. Nine hazels grew over the well. The purple hazels dropped their nuts into the fountain, and five salmon which were in the fountain severed them and sent their husks floating down the streams. Sometimes it was known as "the Well o' the World's End" and Ethna Carbery began a poem about it thus:

Beyond the four seas of Eire,
Beyond the Sunset's rim
It lies half-forgot, in a valley deep and dim;
Like a star of fire from the skies' gold tire,
And whoso drinks the nine drops shall win his heart's desire
At the Well o' the World's End [5]

The Otherworld was sometimes known as the "Land of Women" and it was believed that at least one of the blessed islands was inhabited only by the fairer sex.

Many of the iomrámha or wonder voyages were undertaken to try and reach these phantom isles [6]. The most famous of these was the "Voyage of Bran" which was set in the 14th century but written in the 16th century and tells of a Murchadh Mear who set out plus a ship's crew to seek the Fortunate Island known in Irish as Oileán Séanta.

One day as they were traversing the sea they came upon a sandbank in mid-ocean. They landed there, and kindling a fire on the sandbank, they were partaking by the fire's side of whatever they had collected thereon. And Murchadh, having got up to explore the place, beheld the eye of a monster and the semblance of his entire head. And when he came to where his people were, he ordered them into their ship, not telling them

what he had seen until they had gone a long distance away from the sandbank.

Eventually they reached the island they sought.

"On one side they saw many strange, immense monsters and huge, indescribable flocks of sheep. At the opposite end of the island they saw a huge beast which they thought was a whale. They observed a little pig pushing the large creature with its snout, and driving it before itself along the strand. Against the advice of his people Murchadh landed on the island, and came to the place where the little animal was. He struck it three times with his sword, but failed to draw blood. And the animal took no heed of him when he gave the last blow, and Murchadh never before experienced anything so frightening as the look the beast gave him. They left the island as quickly as they could and eventually made their way back home to Ireland."[7]

HY-BRASAIL

Hy-Brasail was the most famous of the phantom islands. It was named for Bres, son of Erin or Erin the De Danann goddess who gave her name to the county and the Formorian Sea God Electra [8].

Ethna Carbery wrote of it in her poem *Hy Brasail*, which began thus:

There is a way I am fain to go
To the mystical land where all are young.
Where the silver branches have buds of snow,
And every leaf is a singing tongue.

It lies beyond the night and day,
Over shadowy hill, and moorland wide.
And whoso enter casts care away,
And wistful longings unsatisfied

There are sweet white women, a radiant throng,
Swaying like flowers in a scented wind.
But between us the veil of earth is strong,
And my eyes to their luring eyes are blind.[9]

However, Hy-Brasail wasn't some place in the imagination of backward or superstitious people. There is strong evidence in support of this view. Hy-Brasail is actually marked on the 1325 map of A. Dalorto of Genoa. There is evidence that Edward Ludlow, who was involved in the Cromwellian Wars, set off in a ship in 1659 to find the islands. Some years later, there is a story about a Fermanagh-born

seaman called Captain John Nesbitt who sailed out of Killybegs for France. He brought home a wonderful tale of how he had landed on Hy-Brasail and rescued an old Scots gentleman and his retainers who had been held captive there [10] .

A map printed in Amsterdam in 1609 showed two isles off the coast of Ireland, Brasail and Brandon. The 1634 map of the Royal French Geographers showed Hy Brasail. A 1675 pamphlet claiming that Hy-Brasail had been discovered sold very well in London. By the 1830s the Western Atlantic was being crossed frequently by travelling vessels and navies. John Purdey's chart of 1830 gives 51 1'N + 15 30W as the latitude and longitude of Hy-Brasail. Finally in 1865 it was dropped from Purdey's charts.

Many had now come to believe that the island, like other magical islands, was an optical illusion or a mirage. But Hy-Brasail was so fixed in people's minds in the 16th century that when explorers came to South America they thought they had found the legendary country and thus gave the name Brazil to the land they discovered [11] .

CROSSING THE DIVIDE

It was believed that on one night of the year the Otherworld became visible to mankind and the ancient Celtic world celebrated this on the feast of Samhain (31st October/1st November). On this night all the gates to the Otherworld opened and the inhabitants could return to their former haunts. This idea persisted into Christian times when the people believed that the souls in purgatory were released. This is the Christian feast of the commemoration of the dead, All Souls Night (2nd November) [12] .

The ideal is to be found in a poem *The Borrowed or Bartered Bride* by Patrick Sarsfield Cassidy from Dunkineely.

Their yearly release from place intermediate
Where judgement they wait to see some permanent sphere
And while in suspense on each eve of All Hallows
They solace may find amid scenes they loved here

The Celts believed that there were different time zones. The Otherworld cut across these and other special boundaries so the Otherworld could also be located under fairy mounds or Sidheáin.

There are various tales of people who gained access to the Otherworld. One story

tells us that a woman from near Sliabh Liag fell into a hole when searching for cattle in a mist and found herself in an underground palace. Dancing and feasting were in progress. She was offered drink but didn't take it and so she was able to get out and make her way home again. It was believed that had she taken the drink she would have forgotten her mortal life and remained in the underground world [13] .

A Glenfin man, when searching for lost sheep, found a horse grazing quietly near Lough Belshade. The horse allowed him to ride it but as it came to the lough it went in and the man found himself in an underwater palace. He was invited to join in the feast and there he met a lovely red-headed girl whom he married. When he had spent what he thought was three days there he decided to go home and tell his folk about his good fortune. Once above water, however, the topography of the area seemed changed and strange to him. Soon he discovered that, like Oisín, he had been away for three hundred years and he had no way of returning to the underwater world he had left behind [14] .

As well as stories of islands lying "far on the verge of the ocean" there were legends – now largely forgotten - of islands much nearer home. One of these magical islands appeared once every seven years off Doorin Point in Donegal Bay. It could be seen before sunrise on only one day and people believed it was a beautiful magical isle where people and cattle dwelt among trees and gardens. There was only one way to reach the isle: throw a ball of wool so that it would land on the isle and at the same time hold fast to one end of the wool. It was said that it was the only way mortals could reach it.

One May morning a group of local salmon fishermen saw the island. They had a ball of wool in the boat and when they were within striking distance of the island one man threw the ball of wool and held fast to the other end. He had a good aim and it landed on the island. However, the minute the wool touched the ground the boat began to move and shake violently and the men were in danger of being thrown overboard into the sea. The man holding the end of the wool tried to throw it into the sea but it was stuck to his hand and to the boat. Another man got a knife and cut the wool. Immediately the isle was no longer visible. The men were so agitated and scared that they weren't sure if the isle sank or if it floated quickly out of their sight. They reached home safely and there were no further stories of sighting the isle. Indeed, it is unlikely that the crew of that boat ever went looking for it again [15] .

An enchanted castle is said to stand on an island well beyond the 9th wave. This was the boundary of the land in Celtic tradition; beyond it lay neutral seas and foreign countries.

This castle is invisible to all except those bearing the name of the former chiefs and clansmen of Inishowen. Tradition holds that marble statues can be seen with girded swords. Ranged within the walls are effigies of chieftains and warriors belonging to the O'Doherty clan who were metamorphosed into stone long ago. When these spells shall be broken, the inanimate statues are to resume their former vigour and condition, to draw their swords and to take possession of a lost inheritance.

Nearer the coast of Inishowen a magical island lay between Glashedy Rock and Pollan Strand. It appeared only once every seven years and if a mortal succeeded in hitting it with clay he would then own it and it would remain permanently above water. However, there was a 'catch' in this because if one lifted one's eyes off the island while collecting the clay the island would disappear again. Needless to say nobody ever succeeded in gaining possession of the island [16] .



Glashedy Island off Inishowen Peninsula

MERMAIDS

The most famous Otherworldly sea-coast creatures were mermaids. There were various stories told about the origin of mermaids. According to the Book of Armagh some of the angels remained neutral during the Great War in Heaven between God and Satan. As punishment for not backing God they were banished from Heaven. Those who did not manage to reach the earth became spirits of the

air while those who came to earth became fairies. Those who fell into the sea became mer folk who lived in the underwater "*Tír faoi Thonn*" [17] .

Others believed that mermaids had their origins in the classical world where creatures who were half-human and half-bird or fish were known as sirens. In late antiquity the mermaid took on the form of half-woman and half-fish [18] .

In Donegal today mermaids are known as *maighdeáin mara* which translates as "sea maidens" in Irish. In the past they were often known as *Mui-róigh*, written as "merrows" in English. In the Book of Kells (800 A.D.) the mermaid depicted is called a *murduchú*. The Irish *murduchú* is derived from *muir*, sea, and *dúchann*, 'chant, song'. In Irish folklore, her melody is intensely attractive, yet lethal like classical sirens such as Lorelei of the Rhine [19] .

Mermaids are mentioned several times in the Annals. The *Annals of Ulster* and the *Annals of the Four Masters* both record a huge mermaid, the former stating that the year of her appearance was 890, the latter claiming it was 887. The *Annals of Ulster* recorded two more in 1118.

Mermaids were usually seen combing their hair sitting on a rock beside the sea. People didn't like to see mermaids; they were regarded as being harbingers of doom or shipwreck. A mermaid was often seen combing her hair on a rock before the Inver drowning of 1904 and mermaids were seen before shipwrecks on the Tonn Banks at the entrance to the Foyle. In folklore from the South of Ireland the "*Cohullen druith*", a magic cap, helped the mermaids travel through the sea. In the north mermaids used a sealskin cloak when travelling and hid it when they came ashore. They couldn't return to their underwater home without it.

There are frequent tales of marriage between mortals and mermaids in early Irish literature but later the motif is comparatively rare [20] . A man saw a mermaid several times at Loughros Bay and they became friendly. She agreed to go home with him and become his wife if he could break the shell tail she was wearing. He hid the tail behind some sods in the wall of the house. This points to a time when people lived in sod houses. She settled well into her new life and became a good housekeeper. Later, as she sought a place to keep butter cool, she noticed that these sods had been loosened. When she took them out, she saw her shell. This unexpected discovery brought back many fond memories of her former life beneath the waves and created such a longing for the ocean depths within her that she set off immediately for the sea, leaving her new life behind [21] .

All wedded mermaid stories have a somewhat similar ending, as is the case of the Malinmore, the Rosbeg and the Bunatrohan (Kilbarron) mermaids.

A Malin fisherman once found a mermaid in his net. They were married and lived happily until she found her hidden tail. Yet in this case she didn't neglect him. Every morning, for as long as they all lived, the mermaid placed four fish on four flat stones on the sea shore for her husband and family [22] .

A story about a mermaid caught in a fisherman's net off Inishfad (in Drumholm parish) had a slightly different ending. The mermaid, who had been sitting on a rock threading coloured beads, didn't want to be captured. She put her hand down into the water and she lifted up a pair of scissors. She then cut the net all around her and then she was free again. The man was greatly surprised and told everybody about his adventure. However, he soon took sick and was dead within a month [23] .

SEALS

There was a widespread belief among coastal dwellers, not alone in Ireland but in other European countries, that seals were humans who were metamorphosed by the power of witchcraft. Until the 20th century the people of Arranmore Island wouldn't kill a seal in case it was one of their own kith and kin [24] .

It was believed that seals retained some human characteristics such as human speech [25] . Seals were called "Rónta" usually but in Inishowen they were called "Cowans".

About 1851 a young seal was caught and killed on the shores of Loughrosmore Bay. That night as the men who had killed it were hauling up their boat, they distinctly saw, in the moonlight, an old seal coming up out of the water and crawling onto the same bank on which its young one had been killed.

It then began to cry out, "*Ó mo leanbh, mo leanbh, mo leanbh*". This went on for three nights in succession and then ceased, and from that night on a seal has never been known to enter the bay [26] .

At one time seals were very plentiful near Rosbeg; in fact they were blamed for eating all the fish and causing the fishing to fail. So the local fishermen decided to kill any seal they could catch. One day in particular they killed seven very large seals and an eighth escaped with a large spear stuck in its side. The fishermen carried on their fishing as usual that day, but in the evening a dreadful storm arose and they were giving up all hope when they sighted a small island which they had never seen before.

They rowed towards it and, after much trouble, landed. There was just one house on the island and they went in.

The only occupant of the house was an old man who was very kind to them. When they were a little while in the house they heard great moaning as if from someone in pain. They asked the old man what it was and he told them; that morning his eight sons went out fishing and that seven were killed and this one escaped and arrived home with a spear in his side and that it could never be drawn out except by the hands of the person who had stuck it there.

The man pulled out the knife and immediately the patient began to recover. The old man insisted that they promise never to hunt seals again and they kept their promise [27] .

A man was collecting whelks one day along Pollan Strand in Inishowen and caught a seal. He secured it to rocks with his graip and continued to collect whelks. When he returned in the evening the seal had disappeared. Some time later the man and his fishing companions were blown over to Fanad during a sudden storm. When they entered the first house they met they were made welcome. Soon they noticed that one of the inhabitants of the house had graip marks on his arm. When they enquired they were told that the man had been a seal but the iron of the graip turned him back into a human again, as the iron was blessed [28] .

A somewhat similar tale is told of a boy who attached a seal that was lying in a pool with a graip. Immediately, a big red-headed man jumped out of the hole. The boy was so frightened that he waited no longer and he ran home screaming. Some years later the boy was one of a fishing boat crew blown over to Tory Island in a storm. The islanders came to the shore to help them land. Among them there was a tall red haired man. He asked the boy if he ever saw him before and, to convince the boy that he did, he showed him the graip marks in his side. "The blessed iron in your graip released me after spending seven years as a seal", he told the boy [29].

A fisherman from Arranmore once attacked a seal in a cave but the seal managed to escape. Years later the fisherman was taken to Scotland by the wind during a storm. On entering a house the owner spoke to him by name and showed him the mark on his head which he received when he was a seal in the Arranmore cave [30].

SPIRITS OF THE SEA

Stories of shipwrecks tell of the drowned being taken by the spirits of the sea. All those dwelling near the coast heard the age-old story that the sea always claims its own and in earlier times people made no effort to rescue those drowning, believing they couldn't contend with the spirits of the sea.

Though spirits of the sea and sea fairies are not the same – like the Otherworld and Underworld – they have become so intractably linked in stories that it is almost impossible to distinguish one from the other.

Sea fairies are believed to live in the sea and in the rocks and cliffs on the shore and are distinct from those fairies who live in the hills. The sea fairies are less friendly towards human beings and in general people avoid them. However, in many ways they closely resemble the fairy host [31].

They are sometimes called "Bunadh Beag na Farraige" (the little folk of the sea) whereas ordinary fairies were known at times as Bunadh na gCnoc (the little folk of the hills) a reference no doubt to those dwelling in hill-like mounds [32].

A young Teelin lad often went down to the strand at night to collect worms which he used as bait for fishing. One night he heard noises behind a nearby rock. When he went to investigate the clammer seemed further away and he moved on in that direction.

Soon he was moving along the edge of the tide which was beginning to flow and when he came to the edge of the channel the talk and chatter could be heard clearly, coming from the opposite side of the water. Then unknown to himself he walked out into the sea. Suddenly a man appeared before him and stopped him. The man, who revealed to the lad that he too belonged to the fairy host, warned him that the sea fairies were trying to capture him. "Turn right round and get off home as quickly as you can" he ordered the frightened lad. The lad hurried home quickly and never again went down to the strand. He went to America shortly afterwards.

Some of the sea spirits or fairies appeared in different forms. One industrious fishing crew from Teelin went to fish early on Sunday morning and planned to be back in time for Mass at noon. As they passed Poll na bPocán they heard wailing and saw a woman with a child on her knees waving at them and calling that they forgot something important near Bunglas. They rowed back but saw nothing. On their return journey the woman began calling again. They then realised that there was something eerie about her and when they made the sign of the cross they

remembered it was Sunday and the spirit woman wasn't a good sign; she was trying to make them miss Mass. They rowed homeward as fast as they could and to their surprise the quay was crowded with people. When they enquired if they were in time for Mass they were told it was long past Mass time; the waiting crowd had feared they were drowned or "taken" when they were so late. They told their story to the priest who told them that they had a lucky escape and forbade them to go fishing on a Sunday anymore [33].

It was believed that ordinary fairies followed land-based pursuits such as keeping cattle and sheep, and sea fairies went out to fish. One year fairies from Inishfad on the Drumholm coast of Donegal Bay were seen out fishing in their boats. They went as far as "The Mark", a sand bank between Mullinasole and Mountcharles. Fish became very scarce in these waters in subsequent years and the fairies were blamed for the failure of the fishing in the area [34]. Fairies were sighted too, fishing in a phantom boat in the Teelin area.

Charles McGlinchey of Clomany in *The Last of the Name* talks about the Ród Sídhe or fairy road thus:-

> *The old people could point out the ród sídhe, or the fairy road, where the spirits always travelled. It was three waves close together one after the other, and it was dangerous for a boat till the third wave had passed. It was the ród sídhe that put down the Isle of Doagh boat in 1847 when the whole crew was lost. In one of the houses that night, a hen crowed twice and someone struck her with a stick and killed her. They said that the first two crows got the boat over the first two waves and had the third crow been allowed the boat would have got over the last wave too. But the spirits of the sea took all the crew with them.*

In another chapter he adds:

> *Fishermen were always greatly given to superstition. They said that the water and blood of fish that would be lying in the bottom of the boat were very powerful against the spirits of the sea.*

FORMATION OF UNDERWATER LANDS

Numerous submerged cities, fortresses and towns are a peculiar part of Celtic folklore. These were often submerged due to the fatal neglect of the supernatural guardian of a well or lake who allowed the water to rise or overflow. Lough Neagh was formed when the mermaid Liban neglected the Holy Well. It overflowed and made Ireland's largest lake. Other accounts say Liban was the

daughter of a local Chieftain who was drowned in the rising water of the lake [35].

There are two versions of the story about the formation of Lough Erne. According to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and the *Book of Invasions*, Fiacha Labhruinne (Feeha Lavrinna) was King of Ireland from 3727 to 3751. It is related that he won several battles during his reign, in one of which he defeated the Ernaí, a tribe of Firbolgs, who dwelt on the plain now covered by the lake. "*After the battle was gained from them, the lake flowed over them, so that is was from them the lake is named [Loch Éirne], that is, a lake over the Ernaí*" [36].

According to another legend Erne was the name of the Chieftain of the Maids who dwelt in Queen Maeve's sidh at Rath Cruacháin. One summer evening Erne and other maidens were frightened by the emergence from the caves of Cruachán of the grisly shape and rough brawling voice of the giant Olca Ai.

They were so frightened that they went mad, and ran towards Eas Ruaidh or Assaroe - modern day Ballyshannon. As they ran a new lake arose and drowned the girls before they reached Assaroe. The lake and the river were named for Erne[37]. A lake named St. Colmcille is situated in Cashelard, near Ballyshannon and a folk tale tells us that when the local chief was preparing for a feast Colmcille urged him to invite the poor as well as the rich to his Dún. When the chief refused Colmcille cursed him. The local well immediately overflowed, covered the Dún and the surrounding area. Thus Lough Colmcille was formed. Another version of the story tells us that the chief was holding the saint as a prisoner in his castle. Then the water of the well overflowed, rose up around the castle and burst open the castle door. Colmcille got out but the rest of the household drowned in the rising water of the lake. The Dún can still be seen at times beneath the water of the lake [38].

Underwater lands were said to exist under lakes, but the legend of their origin has been forgotten. Older people tell of an inhabited underwater settlement under Meenacurrin Lake in the west of the parish of Inver. The people seen there were said to be dressed in old-fashioned or archaic clothes.

The same type of story is told of other loughs in the Blue Stacks such as Lough Belshade near Barnesmore and Camlargan Lough under the shadow of Carnaween in Inver parish. Dawn is the best time to see this underwater castle surrounded by fields of cattle. One man reported seeing a boy going toward the cattle with a bucket.

Indeed, it is said that this underwater scene was witnessed by no less a personage than the Marquis Conyngham, on whose estate the lough is located.

THE OTHERWORLD, THE UNDERWORLD AND THE UNDERWATER WORLD IN DONEGAL FOLKLORE

The Marquis decided to drain the lough and reclaim the land along its bank. One morning he brought twelve men with tools to begin the work. As he walked along the bank towards a small river that runs into the lake, he is said to have spotted the underwater city. On his return, he ordered the work to cease.

Unfortunately, we do not know exactly when this happened or who was Marquis at the time. The Conynghams were absentee landlords. Their chief seat was at Slane, so local people did not usually know the difference between one Marquis and another. It may be that the reclamation work was begun by Lord Burton Conyngham who owned the Donegal Estate from 1781 to 1796. Burton Conyngham was an improving landlord in the best sense of the word and did much to improve his estates. However, the drainage work was never carried out [39].

Wardtown Castle is situated near the estuary of the river Erne west of Ballyshannon. One night three girls who were attending a party in the castle went outside for a "breath of air". They were never seen again and it was believed that they fell into a small lough nearby and were drowned. Locals in the past claimed to have frequently seen three ladies in the bottom of the lough combing their hair. The lake is since called Lough na mBean Fionn – the lake of the fair-haired women [40].

THE UNDERWATER WORLD

The Irish, like all ancient peoples, had great belief in all these supernatural happenings and were very superstitious. Old and middle Irish had no word for superstition. The older people had no difficulty believing that other beings – human or non-human – could share the earth with them. They had no difficulty believing that apart from their own world there was a world under the earth and another one underwater.

According to Irish folk belief, the world under the sea was populated by beings who resembled those on earth and life below the waves corresponded in some ways with that above [41].

Domestic animals like dogs, donkeys and cattle were said to live under lakes and sometimes they were seen grazing quietly along banks of lakes and rivers. Most of the recorded sightings were said to be at Tamur Lake in Inver parish. Stories about the Magic Cow are told about several lakes including Meenavalley Lake between Killybegs and Ardara.

The basic story is the same in all cases. A destitute family discovers a cow at the

gable of the house. Despite extensive enquiries nobody seems to own the cow so the family keeps her. She is a good milker; she produces a calf every year so after a few years the family becomes quite affluent. Then the farmer tells his wife that he intends to sell the cow. As the cow is magic, she understands speech. She goes around each of her progeny and licks each calf before running into the lough. As she disappears the others race after her and disappear under the water as well. Within a short time the family is again poor [42].

There is a slight variation in this story in Inishowen. There the magic cow emerges from the sea at Pollan Strand and eventually returns there followed by her offspring [43].

In the Glenties area the cow refuses to move when the farmer tries to drive her to the fair. In fact all the men of the townland fail to move her. Then at a moment of her own choosing she runs into the lake, followed by her progeny, and all disappear.

The version from the western shore of the Swilly is somewhat different again. A woman living at Oileán na nUan in the Rathmullen area had no cow. One day a cow came to her and stayed with her until she had three calves. One day after the cow had calved a wee woman came and began calling "Cu, cu, cu, cu" and the cow and the three calves rose and lighted down on a rock at the point of Oileán na nUan and from that day to this day the cow's tracks are to be seen on a rock called Carraig a' Bháite. The cow then jumped with her calves into the sea and all disappeared [44].

Underwater horses that strayed out to land could be tamed but they presented a problem if they were anywhere near a lough, as they always wanted to return to their underwater kith and kin. A man riding such a horse was drowned when his horse returned into Loch Mara Boyle between Laghey and Pettigo on hearing an underwater horse neigh.

Although water horses usually lived in lakes they were often seen off the south-west coast of Donegal at Maghera near Ardara. A local man searching for lost sheep near the coast saw a fierce horse with horns emerge from the sea. He began running towards the hill and the horse followed him. He managed to get into a cave in the hillside. Fortunately for him the opening was too small for the horse to get through. Eventually the horse left the hillside but the man was afraid to come out for two days lest the horse would be waiting for him [45].

Another story tells of a man from Barnesmore who saw a black thing walking on the side of the mountain as he made his way homeward from rambling in Gallaghers of Barnesnellin. He wondered to himself who would leave the cattle

"lying out" there in winter. At Croaghalough he heard a noise and saw a water horse and its foal coming after him at great speed. He ran back to McCaddens and pushed the door in without waiting to knock. On seeing the frightened man collapse on the kitchen floor the people rushed to the window. They saw the horses trying to avoid jumping over the bridge. Next morning the tracks of the horses' hooves were visible on the wall of the bridge [46].

Aghla Mountain near Glenties is said to be named for an "each" or water horse that lived in a Loch Creachta nearby [47].

LOCH NESS TYPE MONSTERS

There are various names given to the Lough Ness-type monsters in Donegal lakes – eel, worm, *caoránach*, serpent and *péist*. In Irish they are usually referred to as "*eascann mhilltineach*", a terrible eel. The first mention of a monster in Lough Ness occurred in Adhamhnán's 7th century "Life of Colmcille".

The péist gave its name to Lugnapeist (*Lag na Péist* or 'Hollow of the Serpent') on the Glenfin side of the Blue Stacks. The back of a *péist* in Lough Muc near Glenties was sometimes seen up over the water. The back was big and black and shaped like a turf stack. Usually its head and tail weren't seen at all [48]. A similar monster is said to inhabit Meenaguis Lough in the Killymard area of the Blue Stacks. Its black back, which was shaped like a turf stack, was often seen from afar rising out of the lake water. In the colder winters of the past the lake surface often froze over and the monster could be heard at night knocking on the ice trying to get out [49].

Another *péist* was said to live in Lough Unna near Sliabh League in south-west Donegal. Then a flood came and swept it out of the Lough, down the river and out to sea. It tore its sides on the rocks of the riverbank as it was being swept along [50].

An eel-like creature was sometimes seen travelling from lough to lough. It put its tail in its mouth to make itself into a circular shape and then rolled along the ground. It was said to be the shape and size of a cartwheel and it left a dark track on the ground that could be seen for months afterwards. It was usually seen as it made its way from Lough Belshade to Selacis Lough in Inver parish and thence to Croagh Lake in the hills above Dunkineely [51].

A Meenavalley man once saw his sheep being followed by an *eascann mhilltineach* – in the shape of a big black ring the size of a cartwheel. It caught its own tail in its mouth and thus travelled until it disappeared into Mín na Coille. The black

track it left on the ground showed that it travelled thus from lake to lake.

In the same area a man was cutting turf between Leaconnell School and Bun an Easa when he saw an '*eascann*' with a duck shaped 'gob' or bill in the water. When he hit the beak with his spade the eascann jumped out of the lake. The man threw away his spade and ran toward the hills. It followed him moving like a cartwheel and rolled along thus until it died from loss of blood [52].

THE DOBHARCHÚ

One of the most famous monsters of the lakes in South Donegal was the creature called the '*durko*' in English and written in Irish as the '*Dobharchú* or the water hound. The *Dobharchú* is variously described as a dog-sized animal with fox coloured hair and the paws of an otter. Some had a horn on their noses like a rhino, a unicorn or a triceratops. The creature was reported to have poor eyesight. A famous *dobharchú* lived in Lough Finn. One day a woman travelling from Glenties to Ballybofey was followed along a lakeside path by this *dobharchú*. She placed her red cloak on a rock and hid behind a nearby boulder. The *dobharchú* attached the cloak-covered rock and killed itself when knocking its head against the rock. Then the woman was able to make her way to safety [53].

On another occasion a woman was herding near Don Loch near Ardara when a monster *dobharchú* - this time with a beak like a duck – came out of the lake and ran after her. She put her cloak on a stone and in true durko fashion it attacked the stone. However, its 'gob' began to bleed so it rushed back and disappeared below the water of the lake [54].

A *dobharchú* was said to inhabit Lough Racoo in the Ballintra area. Once, when a woman was washing clothes in the lake, the creature came out and killed her. When she did not return home the husband went to search for her and found the *dobharchú* asleep on her dead body. The man killed the *dobharchú*. As it bled to death it gave an awful squeal which attracted the attention of its mate in the lough. It came out of the lake; the man fled on horseback and it followed him. At last, at the Bearna Dhearg near Mountcharles, the man stood his ground and after a fierce fight managed to kill the angry creature [55].

SEA SERPENTS AND SAINTS

Pre-Christian heroes such as Cúchulainn destroyed fabulous monsters and serpents. Later lake monsters and sea serpents were destroyed by Christian

saints, beginning with St. Patrick. His encounter with the famous *Caoránach* of Lough Derg is so long that it deserves an article of its own.

St. Patrick "cornered" another serpent in Lochalan and tethered him there with three green rushes. It is said that the lough will burst its banks one day and drown Stranorlar.

Patrick banished the serpent "*Cliabh*" from the Glenfin area [56]. He also destroyed Tochar, the serpent or demon that presided over the valley and plain called Magh Tochair, today known as Glentogher in Inishowen.

Patrick didn't reach many parts of Tyrconnell and many areas were converted by St. Colmcille in the following century.

The parish of Glencolmcille is named for Colmcille. During St. Patrick's Lenten fast on Croagh Patrick in the previous century, he banished the demons from that mountain. They settled in the Glen area – then known as Seanghleann – the Old Glen. When Colmcille came to the area he attacked the demons and succeeded in banishing the serpents into the sea. According to tradition too, many people once believed that Colmcille turned the demons into lobsters. So these people wouldn't eat lobsters and fishermen often threw them back into the sea if they inadvertently caught them in their nets [58].

Manus O'Donnell in his *Life of Colmcille* (published in 1532) tells us that Colmcille understood the language of the birds of the sky and the monsters of the sea, and the secrets of the awful Rochuaidh. When Rochuaidh belched into the air he caused storms and fouled the air so that birds died. When he belched into the sea he caused storms and the death of fishes and when he belched on land he caused damage to crops and livestock which could result in scarcity and famine [59].

Manus O'Donnell also tells us that on another crossing between Donegal and Alba Colmcille and his monks saw a monstrous beast rising out of the sea; "*and not more vast to them seemed a mountain peak than seemed she; and she raised a storm and a great tempest on the sea round about them; so that the boat was in peril of sinking there from. And great fear fell on Colmcille's folk, and they besought him to pray God for them to bring them out of the great danger they were in*".

And anon Colmcille said, 'For the sake of all of you, it is needful that you give one of your folk to propitiate the beast'. Then spoke a lad of the household of Colmcille, "I will go for your sakes into the jaws of the beast, and I shall be given the Kingdom of God in reward therefore.

And therewith he made a bound out of the vessel and he fell into the jaws of the beast. And the monster made off with him then over the sea.

The sea then became calm and Colmcille and his monks prayed to God for the youth and it was not long thereafter that they beheld the beast coming toward them, and she gave back the youth to Colmcille entire. And no hurt had the beast done him nor any more did she do harm to the boat thereafter. [60]"

Another folk tale about Colmcille tells of his encounter with another undersea creature. When he was on his way back from Scotland to the Convention of Drumceat (575) his currach was pursued by a fierce underwater serpent. As Colmcille and his companions prayed for deliverance the scene was shown in a vision to the holy smith Senach in his forge on the banks of Lower Lough Erne. Senach threw the metal he was working with into the air and it miraculously flew into the open jaws of the serpent as it was about to swallow the currach. The dead serpent floated after the currach up Lough Foyle until they reached land. When the serpent was opened the metal was found in its entrails. Senach made three famous bells from this piece of metal - the bell of Molaise patron of Devenish Island and of Inismurray in Donegal Bay; the bell of Senach himself and the Bell of Naul the patron saint of Inver [61].

A Lough in Meenavoy was inhabited by a fierce monster called Suileach because he had forty eyes on his head – twenty on each side. This monster caused such depredation that the local chieftain Feardorcha asked the help of Colmcille against the monster. As the two approached the lake swords in hand the monster emerged. He looked so fierce that Feardorcha ran, leaving Colmcille to do battle alone. He succeeded in killing the monster but he was so enraged that when he caught up with the chieftain he was going to kill him. Feardorcha implored him to wash the sword first as he didn't want to be dispatched with a sword smeared with the blood of the monster. As Colmcille washed the sword in the river the rage left him and he didn't attack Ferdorcha. The river and the inlet into which it flows is called the Swilly for the monster [62].

Other saints too had encounters with serpents. When St. Conall of Iniskeel was doing penance for a grave sin by immersing himself in the cold sea water he was attacked by a *péist mhór* or sea serpent in the water of Gweebarra Bay. As he swam ashore to avoid it the sea opened up a passage into the land thus forming the Gweebarra River and Conall managed to get safely ashore.

Another legend tells us that a sea serpent attacked a boat in which two saints – Conall and Brendan, or Brennain, were sailing up the Gweebarra. The serpent killed Brendan with one blow of its tail. It then sank into a hole in the estuary,

which is said to be bottomless. This hole near the bridge is still known as Poll na Péiste [63].



Lough Swilly at Buncrana

In Inishowen, a *péist* or monster was said to live in a small lake beside Cnock a Loch. A local saint, St. Muirdhealach, drove it out to let it die on Picture Hill nearby, where its image can still be seen on the stones on the side of the hill. It is unlucky to try and move these stones; a man who did so found them back next morning in their original places.

It was considered most unlucky to interfere with the lake: in a year of drought a mill-owner had a trench dug from it to his mill and when the water reached the mill it turned to blood and broke the mill-wheel into bits [64].

BURIED TREASURE

Many of these monsters were responsible for guarding buried treasure.

A crock of gold said to be buried under the Devil's Pool in the Eany near Inver is reputed to be guarded by an eel-like serpent which is wrapped in coils around the treasure [65]. The McSweeneys of Banagh are said to have their treasure hidden in a sea-crevice at Rahan on St. John's Point. This treasure is now said to be guarded by a long poisonous snake,fifty feet in length, with fangs [66]. In the Ardara area a crock of gold buried in Lough na Cartan in Tullybeg was said to be

guarded by a water horse swimming under the surface of the lake [67].

The old people believed that huge eels with manes like horses inhabited Croagh Lake near Dunkineely and that they still guarded the treasury of an old fort, Castlemeara, which once stood near the lake [68].

Pirates were said to have buried their treasure on Swan Island (2-3 miles west of Donegal Town) and covered it with four large stones. A fierce sea dragon is said to guard this treasure. Some stories say that they had stolen this treasure from O'Donnell's Castle in Donegal Town [69].

Stories of serpents and various types of monsters weren't confined to Ireland. Sir Walter Scott wrote of monsters somewhat resembling hippos that he had heard of inhabiting Scottish Lochs.

The Norway Sea Serpent [70] was being written about in history books up to the end of the 18th century.

In the history of Norway by the Rev. Joe Truslet published in 1791, under the head of "Land and Sea Animals" appears the following description of the Great Sea Serpent:
These creatures keep themselves continually at the bottom of the sea, except in the months of July and August which is their spawning times. They then come to the surface of the water in calm weather.

The account continued…

On a fair estimate, to be full 600 English feet long, and in big, in circumference to be as big as two hogsheads. When it lies on the surface of the water it is in many folds that is, there are in a line with the head, which is carried near two feet out of the sea, some small parts of the back. To the number of 25 or more, to be seen above the surface of the water when it moves or bends. These at a distance appear like so many casks floating in a line with a considerable distance between each; the head has a high and broad forehead and resembles that of a horse, its snout being flat, with large nostrils and several stiff hairs standing out like whiskers; its eyes are very large, of a blue colour, and look like two pewter plates. The whole animal is of a dark brown colour. But speckled and variegated, with lights streaks or spots that shine like tortoise shell. The animal has been known to throw itself across a boat and sink it.

Biblical allusions to serpents are then mentioned thus:

'And though they be bid from my sight in the bottom of the sea, thence will I command

the serpent, and he shall bite them'. (Amos, ch. 9, v.3) The supposition is that this sea snake answers to the description of the Leviathan or the Crooked Serpent *'That shall slay the dragon that is in the sea.'* (Isaiah,27,1). It may be the long serpent mentioned in Job, 26, 18. Egade, an author of credit, says that in 1734 he saw one that raised itself so high out of the water that its head reached above the maintop-mast of the ship!!

The Captain of a Norwegian ship declared on the 16th August 1786 before J. R. Lamy of Dundee in Scotland, that on Saturday 5th August 1786, being on their voyage to Dundee, in latitude 56.16 M about 15 or 16 leagues to the eastward of the island of May, they, as well as the whole crew of the said ship, perceived within less than one miles distance, of the southward of them, what they conceived to be an animal called in Norway a Sea Serpent, a creature of a huge size, emerging from the sea, that from its appearance, it seemed to form three low islands, or sand-banks of a grey-ish colour.

WHERE HAVE THEY GONE??

The question is often asked, "What happened to the fairies, the serpents and the mermaids, or where did they go?" Their disappearance was gradual.

Fr. Matthew's mostly pre-Famine Temperance Crusade and the resulting fall off in drinking meant fewer people saw fairies; sightings were often reported by people coming from shebeens and other places where poteen flowed. The national school system ridiculed superstition as being a sign of backwardness and hurried pupils into the bright new superstition-free world of reason and reality. Finally electric light and bright torches lit up the countryside, people travelled by car so the fairies faded farther from view.

Thomas Davies, the Young Irelander, who died in 1845, wrote, "The Fairies, the Banshee, the poor scholar, the Ribbonman, the Orange Lodge, illicit still and faction fight are vanishing", and he promised that they'd soon be history. His forecast wasn't correct about all of these things but he was right about the coming disappearance of the fairies, serpents, and other denizens of the Otherworld, the Underworld and the Tír faoi Thonn.

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Photos : the Editor.

DOON ROCK AND THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS

Dr.John McCavitt

The occasion of the 398th anniversary of The Flight of the Earls (according to the Julian Calendar) was indeed memorable for the doughty group who attended a special commemorative weekend (2nd to 4th of September 2005) organised in conjunction with the Rathmullan House Hotel.[1] Among those participating were Francie Molloy (MLA), Chairman of Dungannon and South Tyrone Borough Council, Pat McGinn, Mayor of Newry and Mourne Council, as well as councillors and officials from Donegal County Council, Cookstown Council and Derry City Council (including Pat Ramsay MLA). What the participants all held in common was a desire to herald the fast-approaching quartercentenary of the Flight of the Earls in 2007 and to learn more about the links between their own localities and this landmark event. The Flight of the Earls, after all, has enormous significance not only for Rathmullan, Donegal, or for that matter Dungannon and County Tyrone. The ramifications of the earls' abscondment were to be felt at provincial and national levels in Ireland as well as in international affairs. The sudden and unexpected arrival of the earls on the continent precipitated a diplomatic crisis. Moreover, as a seminal event in the history of the Irish diaspora, the forthcoming anniversary is attracting considerable interest among the wider Irish 'family'.

County Donegal, of course, and specifically Rathmullan, is synonymous with the Flight of the Earls. And yet many other locations scattered throughout the county can be linked to events that contributed to and culminated from the departure of the northern earls: Doon Rock, Lifford, Inch and Tory islands, the castles of Ballyshannon, Donegal, Doe, Burt and Buncrana, not to forget Glenveagh either. And there are others. 2007, therefore, represents an opportunity to platform on the national and international stage Donegal's rich cultural heritage and to tie the various locations into a potentially attractive county-wide Flight of the Earls 'experience'.

So what has Doon Rock got to do with the Flight of the Earls? On the fifth of July 1608, the Inishowen chieftain, Sir Cahir O'Doherty, was shot dead there

following a brief skirmish, or fierce battle (depending on which account you believe) with crown forces.[2] Sir Cahir, the 'Queen's' O'Doherty had fallen victim to circumstances following the Flight of the Earls. Having thrown in his lot with the English commander, Sir Henry Docwra, towards the end of the Nine Years War (1594-1603), O'Doherty successfully pursued a policy of accommodation with the English.[3] Arguably, of all the important Ulster chieftains, he was the most sincere ally of the crown. To some extent this was reflected in the fact that he acted as Foreman of the jury that indicted the fugitive earls for treason at Lifford in late 1607.[4] By the time this occurred, however, appearances belied an increasingly troubled relationship. Having been accused himself of treason in the tumultuous aftermath of the Flight of the Earls by the abrasive governor of Derry, Sir George Paulet, O'Doherty travelled to Dublin in November 1607 to vindicate himself before the Lord Deputy. It was to be his misfortune to arrive in the city a matter of days after the Baron of Delvin, an accomplice of the absconded earls, had staged a daring Robin Hood style escape from Dublin castle.[5] Caught up in a maelstrom of conspiracy, O'Doherty was imprisoned for a time by Lord Deputy Chichester who had become inclined to 'mistrust many in whose care and honesty I could before that time have reposed my life and safety'.[6]

Eventually released on a massive 'recognisance' of £1000,[7] O'Doherty's relationship with the crown authorities was rapidly curdling. By the time he was assaulted in public in Derry by Sir George Paulet in April 1608, his patience had reached breaking point.[8] It was in these circumstances that he launched his ill-fated rebellion. Having embarked on his revolt, O'Doherty embraced the cause of Tyrone and Tyrconnell at a time when rumours abounded that the fugitive earls were on the brink of returning to Ireland. The viceroy, for his part, blamed the revolt on rumours that eight strange ships had arrived on nearby coasts.[9] Flushed by the success of his initial capture of Culmore Fort, Derry and then Doe Castle, O'Doherty's forces ranged south through Ulster, even threatening the Pale. A small-scale English military expedition was immediately dispatched to Ulster by Lord Deputy Chichester, a highly talented, energetic and utterly ruthless commander. In O'Doherty's absence from his native Inishowen, his wife was captured after a brief, if eventful, siege of Burt Castle.[10]

The seizure of Sir Cahir's wife by royal troops proved to be a decisive moment in the conflict as O'Doherty came under pressure from followers whose spirits were beginning to flag. 'After this blow given him', according to an English account, 'his kernes seeing their hope perish, earnestly pressed him to do something against the king's forces, or they vowed to leave him'.[11] Rather than play the more traditional Irish waiting game, striking and retiring, as the occasion and terrain offered (i.e. 'hit and run'), O'Doherty confronted the crown 'army' at Doon Rock, Kilmacrenan. As vantage points go for a military stand, Doon Rock offered a

commanding position over the surrounding countryside while unsuitable ground denied the English the opportunity to employ their cavalry.[12] Apart from the strategic advantage it afforded his troops Doon Rock was a location of enormous symbolic significance for many among his force of some 1000 men.[13] The revered inauguration site of O'Donnell chieftains, the choice of ground at Doon Rock was undoubtedly intended to stiffen resistance. As it happened a 'happy' shot,from the English point of view, soon put paid to O'Doherty.[14] It is clear, nevertheless, that the battle of Doon Rock was to have a profound impact on Irish history. Accounts of the fighting vary. On the one hand, it was recorded that a 'hot skirmish' raged for half an hour before O'Doherty's death brought proceedings to a premature conclusion.[15] By contrast, an alternative rendition of events depicted the scene in much more dramatic terms. When the engagement began:

> *an equal desire there was both in the English and Irish to encounter and meet one another: and albeit the English had the advantage of men yet were the Irish nothing daunted or terrified with multitude, but being full of hope and desperately valiant bravely kept together. The music of war struck up on both sides to give encouragement to those that wanted no spurs to prick them forward. Bravely was the onset given, and as bravely answered: you would have thought that thunder had been only upon earth, the guns did speak so loud and with such dreadful voices. Yea, swords meeting with swords threw abroad such sparkles of fire that the field seemed to be all made of flames*.[16]

In this propagandist account every effort was made to spice up the proceedings. Thus, 'arms and legs flew up into the air!'[17] No sense here that the conflict was over almost as soon as it had started. 'Many hours they fought … until at length, one of those three companies into which the English troops were divided, secretly keeping aloof came up on the sudden and unexpected of the enemy on the back of the Rebel'. Even the manner of O'Doherty's death is recounted in flowery terms. Having been shot in the head, the youthful chieftain 'fell down… his hand lay directly under his cheek, his head leaning upon it'.[18]

Of the two renditions of the battle of Doon Rock, it is clear that the propagandist account is grossly exaggerated in terms of the manner in which the fighting was depicted. By contrast, it is this version, embellished as it may be, that helps to accurately gauge the impact of O'Doherty's rebellion on the subsequent course of Irish History. In this respect, the anti-Irish hostility that pervades it is palpable, if understandable in its context. 'Murders and massacres and uproars are to them (the Irish) as Music and Banquets: blood as the most delicate cups of wine.'[19]

O'Doherty's revolt is not simply treated in isolation but rather as the latest in a long line of bloody conflicts that had consumed the flower of English manhood. 'How many hundreds of thousands of our English nation have been drowned in their own blood'.[20] And what was most galling was the fact that this latest uprising was led by the 'Queen's' O'Doherty, a so-called ally. The more bitter then was the after taste: 'as the Serpent never stings more deadly than when he bites without hissing, so an enemy never intends more deep mischief and villainy than when he shadows his purposes under the show and pretence of friendship and amity'.[21] The treachery of the 'Queen's' O'Doherty, following so hard on the heels of the rebellion by the 'Queen's' O'Neill, i.e the Nine Years War, 1594-1603, was just too hard to swallow. 'Thou has deserved to be called not one of the daughters of Britannia, but to be rejected as a bastard.'[22] These bilious sentiments help to explain the sudden change in plantation policy that culminated from O'Doherty's revolt. Lord Deputy Chichester's more 'equitable' settlement plan in the wake of the Flight of the Earls was abandoned in favour of a much more thorough-going colonisation project that resulted in considerably less land being regranted to the so-called 'deserving Irish'.[23] The ramifations of this policy change have reverberated to the present day. All this owed much to a thread of inextricably interwoven events leading from Rathmullan in September 1607 to Doon Rock in early July of the following year.

** Further details about the Flight of the Earls, including transcripts of original documents, are posted on the internet at www.theflightoftheearls.net*

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3 John McCavitt, *The Flight of the Earls* (Dublin, 2002), pp 115-16.

4 Ibid, p.135

5 Ibid, pp 115-17. Lord Deputy Chichester described Delvin as 'this young Robin Hood'. See *Cal. S.P.Ire., 1606-8*, pp 414-16.

6 P.R.O., SP 63/222/184.

7 McCavitt, *Flight of the Earls*, p.118.

8 Ibid, p.137.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid, pp 143-5; Bonner, *Audacious Traitor*, chapters 8-9.

11 T.C.D., Early printed books, Press A.2.43, no.2.

12 *Cal. S.P.Ire., 1606-8*, pp 606-8.

13 McCavitt, *Flight of the Earls*, p.145.

14 *Cal. S.P.Ire.,1611-14, pp 392-9.*

15 *Cal. S.P.Ire., 1606-8*, pp 606-8.

16 T.C.D., Early printed books, Press A.2.43, no.2.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid. It has been remarked that the 'arms of the city of London-Derry commemorate this event: the escutcheon shews a skeleton, the head leaning on the hand, the figure resting on a stone, which is said to have been the position in which O'Dogherty was found' (G.V.Sampson, *A Memoir, explanatory of the Chart and Survey of the County of London-derry, Ireland* (London, 1814), p.6). Note also that O'Doherty's sword is in the Tower Museum, Derry.

19 T.C.D., Early printed books, Press A.2.43, no.2.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

23 John McCavitt, *Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy of Ireland, 1605-16* (Belfast, 1998), chapter 9.

Dr. John Mc Cavitt published *Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy of Ireland 1605-16* in 1998. This was followed by *The Flight of the Earls* in 2002. He is a teacher in Newry, Co. Down and a well-known lecturer and author on historical subjects.

THE MIGRATION STORY OF JOHN TOLAND (1670-1722)

Brian Lambkin

John Toland emigrated from Inishowen in 1685 and went on to acquire a European reputation as a philosopher. After his death he was almost completely forgotten in Ireland until JG Simms drew attention to him in 1969 in an article intriguingly entitled 'A Donegal Heretic'.[1] A further article in 1984, in this journal, examined his role in the publication of Keating's *History of Ireland*.[2] Today he is well-known again, both in Ireland and abroad, thanks largely to the republication in 1997 of his best-known book, *Christianity Not Mysterious,* complete with a set of critical essays which examined his career from a variety of angles.[3] This article seeks to examine a little more closely his migration story and in particular how this emigrant thought of his homeland at the time of his death in England.



John Toland 1670-1722

Until his recent rehabilitation in his native country, Toland had a much higher reputation on the Continent. He was 'respected by Leibniz and admired by Voltaire'.[4] He has been called 'a vital influence on the *philosophes* of the French Englightenment' and the 'father of Irish philosophy'.[5] He is an important figure in political thought as well because, as one authority puts it, 'an investigation of the origins of United Irish republicanism in the 1790s would not begin with Lucas. Rather it would look back further, to the Belfast Presbyterian intellectual *avant garde* or the early eighteenth century, for example, and its relationship with the Scottish Enlightenment, or to Robert, Viscount Molesworth, and even, at a stretch, to John Toland'. [6] In his own lifetime Swift described him as 'the great Oracle of the Anti-Christians … an Irish Priest, [and], the son of an Irish Priest'.[7] The continuing lack of esteem in his native country is illustrated by Richard Kearney's recollection of how the Catholic Bishop of Limerick, Jeremiah Newman, objected in 1985 to Toland being described as an 'Irish philosopher' and 'the father of modern Irish Philosophy', on the grounds that he effectively became 'English' when he converted to Protestantism and emigrated to Scotland.[8]

Earlier in the twentieth century, Toland was numbered as one of the fourteen 'Notable Natives of Inishowen' listed by 'MacB', who described him baldly as 'English writer and noted Pantheist. Native of Clonmany'.[9] Earlier still, in the nineteenth century, another writer on the history of Inishowen, William Doherty, described Toland, on his converting to Protestantism, as 'joining the English Party'.[10] Michael Harkin (Maghtochair) also included Toland in his book about Inishowen, but described him very unfavourably as a 'miserable reviler of the religion of his country, and who, from his inveterate hatred of all forms of Christianity more resembled Ripperda of Groningen, or Voltaire and Rousseau of France, than a native of Inishowen, was a spy, too, in the pay of Lord Oxford'. Harkin justified including his sketch of Toland as 'a beacon to warn' rather than 'an example to imitate'. [11]

It is evident from Harkin that stories about Toland were still strong in the oral tradition of the people of Clonmany when he was collecting in the area about 1860:

> *Following the traditions of the people of Clonmany, who, I may observe, have preserved their traditions with the utmost accuracy, I have set down this parish as his birthplace. I believe, too, that I am correct in so doing. They seem to have a vivid recollection of his name, and to be aware of his doings, though I am sure wholly unacquainted with Watkins, or Feller, or O'Donovan. They relate that when he was a boy he one day met the priest on the highway; that some conversation ensued between them, and that the priest, after Toland's departure, remarked to one who was near that the boy spoke with the voice of the devil. He is known traditionally as Eoghan-na-Leabhair, or John of the Books.*[12]

Doherty, writing later, names the priest as Father Shiels.[13] What is particularly interesting, in view of Toland's disputed birth, is that Harkin sought to establish the truth of it but had to conclude: 'I have found upon full inquiry that there is not one living can claim affinity with him'.[14]

However unfavourably Toland may have been remembered in Ireland, he never forgot his boyhood home. He was sufficiently proud of his origins to describe himself in the epitaph which he composed a few days before he died, as '*in Hibernia prope Deriam natus*' (born in Ireland, near Derry). We may well sympathise with the plight of the emigrant scholar at the end of his days. From about 1718 he had been living in a carpenter's house in Putney, London. From Christmas 1721 he was bedridden 'abandoned and apparently drinking heavily' and suffering from 'a fatal affliction of kidney stones'. His account of his last torments is wrenching: 'pains in my thighs, veins and stomach … total loss of appetite, hourly retchings, and very high colour'd water'.[15] He was buried on 13 March 1722 in Putney Churchyard. His epitaph concludes by urging the reader who wants to know more of his life to 'seek the rest from his writings'.[16] Looking in those writings we find at least one clear sign that he was occasionally 'homesick'. In 1720, while reading *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland,* he was evidently moved by the story in it of an islander who went to Glasgow but who 'long'd to see his Native Country'. In the margin, in Toland's hand, are written the following six words: 'I love him dearly for this'.[17] The implication is that Toland who himself had made a similar journey to Glasgow a generation later, likewise 'long'd to see his Native Country'.

TOLAND'S CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION

The local community of Clonmany which Toland left at the age of fifteen has been described as 'patchwork-like, with each townland having its own unique narrative of fear and amity'.[18] This parish seems to have had a deep-rooted tradition of relatively good community relations between Protestant and Catholic neighbours, like Malin in the early part of the twentieth century as described by John Barkley.[19] It is indicative that the neighbourhood of Clonmany kept alive the tradition of 'one of the most remarkable double acts in Ireland', performed by the brothers McLaughlin.[20] Daniel (Domhnall Gorm) McLaughlin was Church of Ireland rector of Clonmany (1672-1711), living in the substantial residence of 'Dresden', while his brother Peter (Peadar), who died shortly after him, was the Catholic parish priest, living in 'a humble thatched cottage by the seaside in the townland of Crossconnell'.[21] It is quite possible that the two brothers were both resident in the parish when Toland was growing up and that it was Daniel who spotted the young Toland's talent, took him under his wing and ensured that he

got the best education available, while Peter (Peadar) McLaughlin may have been the priest who, according to tradition, described Toland as the 'voice of the devil'. This would seem to be the context for Toland's conversion to Protestantism.[22] We know that Daniel McLaughlin in 1693 was preaching and conducting prayers in Irish for a new influx of parishioners who were Episcopalians from the West Highlands of Scotland. We also know that the Anglican Bishop of Derry, Ezekiel Hopkins, was concerned about the number of Catholic priests and friars operating in the northern parishes of Inishowen and that north Inishowen was 'something of a refuge area for clergy harried in other parts of Derry diocese'. [23] Hopkins' successor, William King, was concerned with the new inflow of non-conformist Scottish migrants who seemed set to undermine the status and pre-eminence of the Church of Ireland, encouraged by landlords like Cary of Redcastle who was the first to bring a dissenting minister into Inishowen.[24]

The second story concerns a Captain O'Doherty who, despite his name, was in the army of the Prince of Orange, held all of Urris in fee-simple from the Marquis of Donegall and lived in Kinea House (which at the time of Harkin was the constabulary barrack in Roxtown). This was at a time when 'nearly the entire ancient aristocracy were strict Jacobites' and 'a collateral branch of his family lived in Tullagh, who were of entirely opposite politics, and true and loyal supporters of their legitimate King'. Henry Doherty for example was Sarsfield's secretary.[25] Toland himself was of the Uí Thuathalláin, a bardic family of the O'Dohertys or O'Donnells or O'Neills in Inishowen.[26] It is possible that there was substance to Swift's charge and that he was 'the bastard son of an Irish priest, born to a prostitute'.[27] He attended Redcastle school, between Muff and Moville, which was under the patronage of the landlord Cary. It was about this time that his conversion must have taken place. This may also have been when he developed the unusual ability of being able to read Irish, which stood him in good stead in later life, for as he explained: 'the knowledge of the ancient Irish, which I learnt from my childhood, and of the other Celtic dialects, in all of which I have printed books or manuscripts (not to speak of their vulgar Traditions) is absolutely necessary'.[28]

Thus we have some idea of the circumstances that conditioned Toland's conversion and subsequent emigration.[29] Although he chose to break with local, Gaelic tradition, which he called 'superstition', he fully understood it from his own experience of having being brought up in the tradition:

> *I must observe on this occasion that there is no part of our education so difficult to be eradicated as SUPERSTITION; which is industriously instilled into men from their cradles by their nurses, by their parents, by the very servants, by all that converse with them, by their tutors and school-masters, by the poets, orators and historians which they read: but more particularly by the Priests, who in most parts of the world are hired to keep the people in error, being commonly backed by the example and authority of the MAGISTRATE.*[30]

TOLAND'S EMIGRATION TO BRITAIN

It seems that Toland 'used his conversion to the Church of Ireland aged fifteen as a means to escape the Romish backwaters of Clonmany'.[31]He went to college in Glasgow where he appears to have been 'a homesick protégé of the bishop of Derry', Ezekiel Hopkins.[32] Hopkins possibly hoped to use Toland and other Irish-speaking theology students on their return to convert and 'civilize' the natives of his diocese.[33] In Glasgow Toland soon 'discarded any Episcopalian tendencies' and joined Glaswegians on the barricades against the Jacobite soldiers during the Glorious Revolution of 1688-9.[34] While in Glasgow he may well have met Francis Makemie (1658-1708) – a Donegal man and founder of Presbyterianism in the United States. [35] From Glasgow Toland went on to Edinburgh, Oxford and London, his career turning in a theological and philosophical direction that would not have had the approval of Bishop Hopkins.[36]

TOLAND'S RETURN TO IRELAND AND RE-MIGRATION

Toland returned to Ireland after the publication of his *Christianity Not Mysterious* in 1696 in the hope of being appointed to a secretaryship under John Methuen, the new Lord Deputy.[37] We know that he came with letters of introduction from the philosopher John Locke and that he was welcomed by the latter's friend, William Molyneux, who was one of the important members of the Dublin Philosophical Society. However, so hostile was the reception of his book that he returned to London in fear of his life. From 1701 to 1710 Toland spent long periods on the continent, staying in Amersterdam, Düsseldorf, Hanover, Berlin and Prague.[38] In Prague he demonstrated his concern for his connection with Ireland in a remarkable way by visiting and staying with the Irish Franciscans there in 1708.[39] After he returned to London in 1710 there is little evidence that he travelled again.

That Toland was at least occasionally 'homesick' for Ireland and Clonmany is also apparent in his scholarly interest in the Irish language, of which he was a native speaker. As well as being on equal terms with the leading European philosophers of his day, Toland was respected by those who were to the fore in Gaelic scholarship. It is more than likely that he met Martin Martin, who wrote an account of the Hebrides, and also the Reverend John Beaton, who was one of

those who assisted the great Celtic scholar Edward Lhuyd when he visited Scotland.[40] Towards the end of his life Toland wrote three letters to Viscount Molesworth in which he sketched out a 'specimen of the critical history of the Celtic religion and learning'. The letters, written in 1718-19, were published posthumously.[41] Subsequently, they were republished separately under the title *A Critical History of the Celtic Religion and Learning* in 1815.[42] In this work, as Simms notes, Toland 'drew on his boyhood memories for accounts of Inishowen landmarks associated with Druidism, a rocking stone at Clonmany, places where Mayday bonfires were lit, and a hill named after a white-legged Druidess, Cnoc na Gealchosaighe.[43] By looking a little closer at these references we gain some insight into how the emigrant Toland pictured his homeland.

The first references he makes are to *Creag-a-Vanny* and *Crocknagalcossagh*:

> *Thus the Druid O Murnin inhabits the hill of Creag-a-Vanny, in Inishoen; Aunius [footnote: AIBHNE or OIBHNE] in Benavny from him so call'd in the county of Londonderry, and Gealcossa [footnote: GEALCHOSSACH] in Gealcossa's mount in Inisoen aforesaid in the county of Dunegall. This last was a Druidess, and her name is of the Homerical strain, signifying White-legg'd [footnote: Cnoc na Gealchossaigh]. On this hill is her grave, the true inchantment which confines her, and hard by is her temple; being a sort of diminutive Stonehenge, which many of the old Irish dare not even at this day any way prophane.*[44]

According to the oral tradition reported by Harkin, the hill of Crucknagalcosh was regarded as a 'stronghold of the fairies', just as the hills of Knockameny, Knockglass, Lagg and Goorey on the opposite northern shore of Trawbreaga Bay were 'regarded, time out of mind, as fairy or *gentle* ground'. Harkin relates the story of Crucnagalcosh, presumably much as it would have been known to Toland:

> *Here a fairy princess, remarkable for the whiteness of her feet, presided at many a joyous meeting, and was on many evenings, and in the bright moonlight, seen to mingle in the dance, with her attendants, to the sound of the most exquisite music, generally that of the violin. A bootmaker, named Shane McCool, lived in the neighbourhood, and, in the exercise of his professional duties, his way often led across Crucknagalcosh, for in those times rural artisans migrated from one customer's house to another, where a job awaited them, and where they stopped and boarded while executing it. At length a noble lady in the train of the princess became enamoured of Shane, and day by day her love increased. A secret council was held by the fairy authorities, at which it was resolved to second the lady's designs, and to capture the bootmaker. But Shane had a friend among them who appeared to him, and not only privately disclosed the resolutions of the council, but likewise instructed him to contend with his adversary, and come off victorious in the struggle.*
>
> *Thus we see that secret associations even of the fairies, were not proof against the betrayer; there itself there was a "Sham Squire" or a Jemmy O'Brien very ready to sell the pass.*
>
> *The next time Shane crossed the hill, being accoutred with the implements of his trade, he beheld the fairy contingent along a narrow glen, formed by the mountain torrent. His instructions were not to retreat, and if he struck to strike but once only; for a fairy who gets one effectual stab is as vulnerable as any mortal, but give it another and forthwith it is cured. His admirer sat on a huge stone, just where Shane was to cross the brook, and on his approach rose to seize him, when he, drawing his knife, like his prototype Fingal, when contending with the spirit of Loda, stabbed her to the heart. "Strike again," cried all the fairies. "Enough," said Shane, whereupon there arose from the whole multitude a dismal wail, in which they recounted the genealogy of the deceased lady, her descent from kings and knights, and the misfortune of having her thus murdered by "Shane Gibbagh McCool".*[45]

The correspondence between Toland's and Harkin's versions of the story is not exact. Harkin describes Gealchossa as the 'princess' (probably the daughter or 'queen' of the 'fairy King of that district, as well as of the lough, Niall-na-nArd, or Neill of the Heights' who 'resided in the hills of Knockameny' on the other side of the lough). Toland makes Gealchossa correspond with the 'noble lady in the train of the princess' and describes her as a 'Druidess'. Harkin's version gives strong indications as to the location of the 'huge stone', on which the 'noble lady' sat. It was on the slope of the hill of Crocknagalcossagh, 'just where Shane was to cross the brook'. This 'brook' was the 'mountain torrent' which flowed along the 'narrow glen' where Shane had 'beheld the fairy contingent'. The 'huge stone' was therefore most probably the 'standing stone' in the townland of Straths.[46] According to Harkin's version, the fairies 'keened' the 'noble lady' on the spot where she was murdered. The 'standing stone' therefore probably corresponds with the 'grave' of Gealchossa, described by Toland.

What Toland describes as a 'temple' and a 'sort of diminutive Stonehenge' was 'hard by' the 'grave' of Gealchossa. This is probably to be identified with the 'Megalithic Tomb' in neighbouring townland of Rashenny marked on the current 1:5000 map. Although only one stone is now standing, it is clear that there had been more at this site, which must have corresponded to Toland's 'diminutive Stonehenge'.[47] On the 2nd edition of the Ordnance Survey map the site is marked as 'Standing Stones' and on the 3rd edition as 'Standing Stone'. It is worth noting Toland's comment that 'many of the old Irish dare not even at this day any way prophane' the site. By not 'prophaning' it he presumably meant showing it more

respect than simply desisting from removing or tumbling the stones. Presumably, Gealchossa's 'grave' or her 'temple' was thought of as the site of the 'joyous meetings' at which the fairies danced to the sound of music.[48]



Eddie Lynch at Standing Stone, Straths, between Carndonagh and Ballyliffin.

ROCKING STONES

Referring to the 'rocking stones' of Clonmany, Toland has this to say:

> *They are roundish and of vast bulk; but so artificially pitch'd on flat stones, sometimes more, sometimes fewer in number, that touching the great stone lightly, it moves, and seems to totter, to the great amazement of the ignorant: but stirs not, at least not sensibly, for that is the case, when one uses his whole strength. Of this sort is the Maen-amber in Cornwall, and another in the Peak of Derby … Some there are in Wales, one that I have seen in the Parish of Clunmany [n.Cluainmaine] in the north of Ireland, and the famous rocking stones in Scotland*.[49]

It is not clear which 'rocking stone' in the parish of Clonmany Toland had in mind. One possibility is that it was the 'clochtogle' or *cloch tógála* (lifted stone) in Cloontagh townland on the southern slope of Magheramore hill, drawn by

Vice-Admiral Boyle Somerville in 1909, which fits the description of being 'roundish and of vast bulk' and 'artificially pitch'd on flat stones.[50] The OS Memoir for Clonmany parish notes 'clochogle' stones – as distinct from 'standing stones' in the townlands of Carrareagh (2 or more) and Magheranell (1), but does not mention any in Cloontagh.[51]

SITES OF MAY DAY AND ST JOHN'S EVE BONFIRES

Toland also refers to various bonfire sites, marked by cairns, in the Clonmany area: 'I remember one of those Carns on Fawn-hill within some miles of Londonderry, known by no other name but that of Bealteine, facing another such Carn on the top of Inch-hill'.[52] He connects ancient 'fire-worship' at these sites with traditional customs still practised in his childhood:

> *As to this fire-worship, which, by the way, prevailed over all the world, the Celtic nations kindled other fires on midsummer's eve, which are still continued by the Roman Catholics of Ireland; making them in all their grounds and carrying flaming brands about their Corn-fields. … Thus I have seen the people running and leaping thro' the St John's fires in Ireland, and not only proud of passing unsing'd: but, as if it were some kind of lustration, thinking themselves in a special manner blest by this ceremony, of whose original nevertheless they were not wholly ignorant in their imperfect imitation of it.*[53]

Such customs of course persisted long after Toland's day.[54]

CONCLUSION

What is so striking is that even though Toland's intellectual rejection of the tradition in which he had been brought up was total, he continued to be fascinated by it. Dickson, who describes him along with Charles Macklin as 'probably the most successful eighteenth-century men of Inishowen Catholic parentage' goes on to observe that 'there is a certain irony in the probability that Toland, the deracinated atheist, oversaw the first translation of Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* into English, doubly justifying the nickname he earned in local tradition, John of the Books or *Eoghan na leabhair*'.[55] Toland's interest in Keating recalls another Donegal scholar of a generation earlier whom he also admired, John Colgan (c1592-1658). Both Colgan and Toland died in exile in rooms filled with books and manuscripts – Colgan in the Irish Franciscan College in Louvain and Toland in Putney – and both had been working on Keating. [56] In a sense Toland had 'kept a kind of faith with his Gaelic past'. [57] So we may picture this

emigrant in Putney, who proclaimed himself 'born in Ireland, near Derry', thinking of his 'Native Country' where he was regarded by most, Catholic and Protestant alike, as a heretic. We may imagine him picturing in his own mind's eye scenes of his boyhood and in particular those 'druidical' monuments of Clonmany that had so influenced his thinking and writing about the ancient past, such as the 'huge stone' in the townland of Straths where Gealchossa sat waiting for Shane Gibbagh McCool.

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1 Simms, J.G. (1969), 'John Toland (1670-1722), A Donegal Heretic', *Irish Historical Studies*, XVI, 63, 304-320

2 Berman, D. and Harrison, A. (1984), 'John Toland and Keating's "History of Ireland" (1723)"', *Donegal Annual*, 36, 25-9

3 McGuinness, Philip, Harrison, Alan and Kearney, Richard (eds) (1997), *John Toland's Christianity not Mysterious: Text, Associated Works and Critical Essays*, Lilliput Press, Dublin

4 Carabelli, G. (1975; 1978), *Tolandia*, Firense

5 Eagleton, Terry (1998) *Crazy John and the Bishop and other Essays on Irish Culture*, Field Day, Cork University Press, 46; McGuinness (1997, 272)

6 Smyth, Jim (2001), 'Republicanism before the United Irishmen: The Case of Dr Charles Lucas', in Boyce, G., Eccleshall, R. and Geoghegan, V. (eds), *Political Discourse in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth Century Ireland*, Palgrave, Basingstoke, 243

7 *An Argument Against Abolishing the Christian Religion* (1711), quoted in O'Halloran, Clare (2004), *Golden Ages and Barbarous Nations: Antiquarian Debate and Cultural Politics in Ireland, c.1750-1800*, Field Day Monographs, Cork University Press, 75

8 Kearney, Richard (1997), 'John Toland: An Irish Philosoper?' in McGuinness, et al (eds), 222, 211-12

9 Swan, Henry, Percival (1938), *The Book of Inishowen: A Guide Book and Conspectus of Information relating to the Barony of Inishowen, County Donegal*, Buncrana, 104

10 Doherty, William J. (1895), *Inishowen and Tirconnell: Being some Account of Antiquities and Writers of the County Donegal*, Dublin, 151

11 Maghtochair (1867; 1935), *Inishowen: its history, traditions and antiquities*, M Harkin, Carndonagh, Donegal, 100, 99

12 Harkin (1935, 100)

13 Doherty (1895, 150) - The priest is not to be confused with Charles Ó Shiel, born 1755, died 1829 *Derriana* (1981/2, p33.)

14 Harkin (1935, 100)

15 Sullivan, Robert, E. (1982), *John Toland and the Deist Controversy: a Study in Adaptations*, Harvard University Press, 35, 39.

16 Kearney (1997, 208)

17 Sullivan, Robert, E. (1998), 'John Toland's Druids: A Mythopoeia of Celtic Identity, *Bullán: an Irish Studies Journal*, 21

18 McGuinness, Philip (1997), 'Looking for a Mainland: John Toland and Irish Politics' in McGuinness et al (eds), 264

19 Barkley, John (1991), *Blackmouth and Dissenter*, White River Press, Belfast, 18-20.

20 McGuinness (1997, 263)

21 Harkin (1935, 83-4). See also McGlinchey, Charles (1986), *The Last of the Name*, Blackstaff, Belfast, 67-8

22 Dorian, Hugh (2000) *The Outer Edge of Ulster: a memoir of social life in nineteenth-century Donegal*, edited by Mac Suibhne, Breandán and Dickson, David, Lilliput, Dublin, 413

23 This practice was continued by his son, who was curate in the parish until at least the 1720s

(Dickson, 415).

24 Dorian (2000, 414).

25 Harkin (1935, 98); Dorian (2000, 413)

26 Harrison, Alan (1997), 'John Toland's Celtic Background' in McGuinness et al (eds), 244-5

27 McGuinness (1997, 262); see Doherty (1895), 149-50

28 Toland, John (1726; 1815), *A Critical History of the Celtic Religion and Learning*, John Findlay, Edinburgh, 55

29 On his conversion in 1685 during the reign of James II see McGuinness (1997, 264)

30 Toland (1815, 174). For other comment on 'superstition' see Harkin (1935, 196).

31 McGuinness (1997, 264)

32 Sullivan (1982, 2)

33 Doherty (1895, 151)

34 McGuinness (1997, 265)

35 McGuinness, Philip (1997), '*Christianity Not Mysterious* in McGuinness et al. (eds), 231-242, 238

36 Harrison (1997, 249)

37 Sullivan (1982), 8

38 Harrison (1997, 250)

39 MacCraith, Mícheál and Worthington, David (2003), 'Aspects of the literary activity of the Irish Franciscans in Prague, 1620-1786' in O'Connor, Thomas and Lyons, Mary Ann (eds), *Irish Migrants in Europe after Kinsale, 1602-1820*,131-3

40 Harrison (1997, 246)

41 *Collection of several pieces*, edited by Pierre Desmaiseaux, 1726.

42 *A Critical History* was republished separately by John Findlay, Edinburgh, and sold by Gilbert and Hodges and other principal booksellers in Dublin.

43 Simms, J.G. (1969), 'John Toland (1670-1722), a Donegal heretic', *Irish Historical Studies*, 16, 304-20, 308. See *Collection* (1726, 23, 104-5); *A Critical History* (1815, 61, 139)

44 *A Critical History* (1815, 61)

45 Harkin (1935, 107-8)

46 Lacy, Brian (et al. eds) (1983), *Archaeological Survey of County Donegal*, No. 487, 88: 'a standing stone, irregularly shaped, and 1.3m high x .65m wide at base widening to 1.2m wide at top; ENE-WSW. Situated on rough pasture ground. This was kindly located for the author by Mr Eddie Lynch of Magheralahan, Straths, April 14, 2005. Mr Lynch said that he had heard the story about 'Shan Gibbagh' stabbing the fairy and not stabbing twice. He also remembered hearing 'old fellas taking a hand out of young fellas, calling them Shan Gibbagh McCool'. Harkin (1935, 23) was aware of this stone: 'If we except the cromleach of Magheramore (at an altitude of 400 feet) previously noticed, Clonmany is remarkably deficient in Druidical remains; but, on the confines of Donagh, traces of them begin again to appear. Thus, near Magheralahin [sic], at the base of Crucknagalgosh, there is a pillar stone or *dallan* in this parish."

47 'To the W and SW are two partially buried stones, on or both of which may once have been standing. The SW stone has two cup-marks', Lacy (1983, 85): Rashenny No. 472

48 A fuller context for the story of Gealcossa and Shane Giobach may be derived from other sources. The 'brook' functions as a boundary: 'spirits (good, bad and indifferent) cannot cross a stream of running water', Wood-Martin, W.G. (1902), *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland: a handbook of Irish pre-Christian traditions*, 2 vols, London, vol ii, 23. Elsewhere Wood-Martin relies on Toland as an authority (142, 56, 211, 69).

49 Toland (1815, 139)

50 Somerville, Boyle (1929), 'Ancient Stone Monuments Near Lough Swilly, County Donegal', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries*, 59, 16-60; see also his 'Prehistorics', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Soceity*, 33, 57-68. See Lacy (1983, 47): No.152, C397455

51 Day, A. and MacWilliams P. (eds) (1997), *Ordnance Survey Memoirs of Ireland*, Vol. 38, 16. Interestingly, Toland explains the 'secret' of the operation of 'rocking stones' by referring to the

example at Balvaird Scotland where 'its motion was performed by a yolk extuberant in the middule of the under-surface of the upper stone which was inserted in a cavity in the surface of the lower stone' (1815, 140). According to Harkin (1935, 14): 'at Magheramore, in the parish of Clonmany, is a very perfect specimen of the cromleach, consisting of a table stone of above 30 tons, supported by three upright pillars. It is here called Fionn McCool's finger-stone'. According to Molloy's *Statistical Survey* (1814): 'proceeding southward still, he may take a cursory view of two white stones to the right and left of the road near the chapel. Taking the same course, he will arrive at a stone, in Maheramore, placed on pillars, which cannot be less than 20 tons weight, said to be Fion Mc. Cuil's finger-stone. It has every appearance of being placed there (being called cloch a togbhail,) if it was practicable; however, to the men of this generation it is not. (Molloy, Statistical Survey 1814)

52 Toland (1815, 101). Toland also observes that 'a world of places are denominated from those Carns of all sorts, as … in Ireland Carn-mail, Carnaret, Carnan-tagher, Carnan-tober' (106).

53 Toland (1815, 107, 112). He gives the following explanation of 'fire-walking': We do not read indeed in our Irish books what preservative against fire was used by those, who ran barefoot over the burning coals of the carns: and, to be sure, they wou'd have the common people piously believe they used none. Yet they really did, no less than the famous fire-eater, whom I lately saw making so great a figure at London, men of penetration and uncorrupted judgements will never question (1815, 115-6)

54 See Harkin (14); Dorrian Hugh (2000), *The Outer Edge of Ulster*, ed. Mac Suibhne, Breandán and Dickson, David, Lilliput, Dublin, 259; McGlinchey (1986, 139) ; MacNeill, Máire (1962), *The Festival of Lughnasa: a study of the survival of the Celtic festival of the beginning of the harvest*, Oxford

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56 Cunningham, Bernadette (2000). *The World of Geoffrey Keating*: *history, myth and religion in seventeenth-century Ireland*, Four Courts, Dublin, 81

57 Eagleton (1998, 48)

Dr. Brian Lambkin is Director of the Centre for Migration Studies at the Ulster American Folk Park, Omagh, Co. Tyrone.

Photos: the author.

SOME FRAGMENTS OF FAIRY FOLKLORE FROM MAGH ITHA

Belinda Mahaffy

Fairy stories form a very ancient part of our oral Irish heritage. If stories are not written down they can only be recorded for posterity in their re-telling. The stories which I have recorded here all come from the parish of Clonleigh which lies in the plain of Magh Itha also known as the Laggan in east Donegal.

Clonleigh parish is bounded on the north by the parish of Taughboyne, on the west by the parishes of Raphoe and Donaghmore, on the south by the parish of Urney and on the east by the river Finn and the river Foyle. The river Deele rising near Convoy flows from west to east and, dividing the parish of Clonleigh into two nearly equal parts joins the Foyle one mile below Lifford. The Swilly Burn (pronounced Sully locally) rises near Raphoe and falls into the Foyle about four miles below Lifford. There are also a number of smaller streams and springs. Croaghan hill rises above Lifford and Binnion hill overlooks Clonleigh from Taughboyne.

When I enquired about fairy tales from neighbours, I discovered that only fragments remained of tales of the "wee folk". These tales were at second or third hand. When I asked what the wee folk looked like no one could describe them. By contrast, tales of Nion Rua the banshee seemed to be easier to gather. These tales contained more detail and were more recent.

In due course, I also discovered two people who have described seeing fairies themselves. I do not believe any of the following stories have been collected by anyone else.

SOME TALES OF THE "WEE FOLK"

24/07/2005
Mr. Michael McNamee, New Row, Porthall, Clonleigh, Lifford.
To the right of his family bungalow is a field where an old house once stood in

which lived an old lady. His aunt came by one day and found the old lady crying. When she asked her why she was crying, the old lady replied that it was because she had just seen the "wee folk".

25/07/2005
Liam Mc Crory, Cavanacor, Clonleigh, Lifford
Liam remembers that people said there was a rock on top of Cavan Hill near Rossgeir where the wee folk repaired their shoes. People used to say that they could hear the fairies hammering nails into their shoes if they passed by that rock.

25/07/2005
Jim French, Gortgranagh, Clonleigh,Lifford.
As children in the Twenties and Thirties, Jim's family were told that fairies lived in the quarry at Cavananeeny. They were also told not to go out at night or the fairies would get them.

27/07/2005
Mrs Tessie McGettigan, Braade, Clonleigh , Lifford.
Mrs Darragh once owned the farm of Braade which is now owned by Dan Devine. Early in the twentieth century, one of Mrs. Darragh's relatives was followed up above on the farm by one of the "little folk".

Robert McGettigan, Braade, Clonleigh.
"My Grandmother who died in the 1920's believed in fairies. They were responsible for everything. She remembered the Big Wind of the night of 6th-7th January 1839. She said it happened because the fairies were having a battle over Ireland. She believed the English fairies had invaded Ireland. The wind was caused by the defeated fairies leaving Ireland forever."

THE FAIRY TREE AT TAMNACRUM

On the slopes of Croaghan hill and at the side of the road going from Claudy to Raphoe stands a fairy tree at Tamnacrum farm. It grows in a bank near the remains of a large megalithic tomb known locally as the Giant's Grave. This tree bends to one side away from the Giant's Grave. Very strong boughs of ivy have wrapped themselves around its trunk. This fairy tree unlike most other fairy trees is not a fairy thorn. It is a crab apple tree and it stands one field away from the farm house.

In the 1930's, the Torrens family lived at Tamnacrum farm. Mr and Mrs Torrens had a daughter named Lizzie Torrens who was then aged 18 or 20 years old. One

day Lizzie decided to collect the crab apples on the fairy tree to make crab apple jelly so she set out with some baskets and a lad named Jack Baxter to pick the fruit.



Fairy Tree

As soon as they touched the tree, the wee folk came out of the tree and surrounded them. Lizzie and Jack dropped everything they were carrying and ran away terrified and refused to go near the tree ever again. They said the wee folk were all "wee men about two feet high with wee red coats and there was a wile lock of them".

The fairy tree still stands. The present owner of the farm is Willie Long. He bought the farm from the Baird family in the 1950's. When he bought the farm he says he was told the story of the fairy tree and warned never to touch it. Lizzie Torrens still comes to visit - usually on a Monday night. She is now a widow named Mrs. Kee, aged 87 and she lives near Convoy. Willie says she often talks about the day the wee folk came out of the fairy tree and chased her from their tree.

08/2005
Mrs Rosaleen Howard, 457 Gallows Lane, Lifford, Co. Donegal.
In the 1940's, when she was a child aged six, Rosaleen was playing with her younger sister and a friend of about the same age on one of the four fields which

belonged to the Dooher family on the side of Croaghan Hill which rises above Lifford.

It was a very hot, dry, day. Indeed it had been a very hot dry summer. The clay was so dry it was like dust and a breeze could lift it in little clouds in the air. One corner of the field was full of fairy thimbles (fox gloves). As the girls played, Rosaleen looked up and saw a great crowd of little folk all dancing and gliding and floating in a corner of the field. They were all approximately two feet high. They were all dressed in shimmering red with gold buttons on their jackets. The little men were all wearing crooked stove type top hats and they all had red hair. Rosaleen said there were also little ladies with red hair and hats. All wore shoes that went up into a point. She was so engrossed by the little men that she cannot recall the women so easily. Everything was very colourful and everyone was so happy. She said to her playmates, "Look at the fairies" and pointed towards the fairies. They looked and saw nothing and said to Rosaleen, "What fairies?" "The fairies dancing," she replied and looked again. Rosaleen could still see the fairies but soon the fairies suddenly vanished and she never saw them ever again.

That night Rosaleen told her mother what she had seen and her mother told her, "There is no such thing". Shortly after they moved house and she never visited that particular field ever again.

BANSHEES

1950'S. Marion Mc Gonigle then aged 7, Gortin, Ballindrait, Clonleigh.
"The banshees gather on Gortin Hill. In the evening before dark, you can hear them screaming. They have clawed feet and pull worms out of the ground with their feet. They have heads and shoulders like women. They are ugly. You must not go near them. They scream and scream every evening."

Bean-sídhe or in English, banshee means a woman of the fairy folk. There appear to be at least two different types of banshee. This is the traditional Ulster description of a banshee which is actually similar to the description in Greek mythology of a harpy.

Does this description hark back to a more universal belief which once existed all over Europe? Does it lend any credence to tales of a Greek boat landing on Inis Saimer at Ballyshannon? If some Greeks arrived in pre-Christian Ireland, could they possibly have intermarried with the Celts living here and thus have passed on some of their Greek mythology?

NION RUA

The following stories about Nion Rua are similar to the more universal descriptions which one hears in other parts of Ireland of banshees. In the following tales, she appears as:

- An ancestral spirit
- An old hag
- A young woman
- A grey hooded figure

Hugh Ban McGettigan, Braade, Clonleigh.
This incident took place some time in the mid-1950's. One morning about 5 a.m., just as the last stars were vanishing from the sky, Hugh Ban was finishing a night's work of setting rabbit snares. He was working in the townland of Ballinabreen which lies near Murlog on the lower slopes of Croaghan Hill when he spied a "wee woman" going behind a stone pillar.

Being curious, he went behind the stone pillar too and struck a match in her face to have a good look. He saw a pair of very blue eyes in a very wrinkled face with a pointed chin. The little woman stared at him for a moment and then vanished. Ballinabreen is said to derive from Baile na Bruidhne which means the town or place of the fairy fort or palace. Old forts were always believed to be inhabited by fairies. There are no traces of a fort there today.

Phonsie French, Cavan Hill, Clonleigh.
"About thirty - five years ago, every morning I went down Stumpie's Brae and over the road on the way to work and I saw the little woman walking near the cashel at Craigadoes at the foot of Binnion Hill. She was wearing a scarf over her head. She was walking and walking always in the same spot and never advancing any further."

Mr Roulston, Cavanacor, Clonleigh.
"I was walking home from a dance in the mid-seventies. I was seventeen years old. It was sometime in the summer. There was moonlight. Where Dr. Armstrong's house now stands, there was a gate where you could look down the fields towards the river Foyle. When I walked as far as the gate, I saw a figure standing there looking over the gate. The figure wore a long, grey cloak with a hood. As I walked past the figure, it turned to look at me and I saw that it had no face! I started running very quickly. I did not stop until I reached home. I never saw that figure again."

Odhran McGettigan, Coolatee, Clonleigh.
"Although I do not drink I was returning home from Rossgeir pub one night where I had been attending a football club meeting. As I walked home past the Glebe, I looked up towards the trees at the end of the lane which leads up to the little empty cottage which everyone says is haunted. There in the trees, I saw a little woman with a pointed chin. She was wearing a grey linen pinafore dress with dark or navy spots on it. She seemed to be busy going about amongst the trees.

It must have been 9.30 or so at night. Just now as I am telling the story, I realize it was dark as I walked along, yet I saw her clearly as though it were daylight. This event happened some years ago. I saw the little woman with the pointed chin only once. I have never mentioned this to anyone else before now."

The Glebe is a small townland outside Lifford. It is locally pronounced the Glybe; Nion Ruadh is said to be buried in the trees at the end of the lane.

Jim French, Gortgranagh, Porthall, Clonleigh.
"In the 1930's, my father Tom and his brother my uncle Barny followed the banshee along the banks of the river Foyle from the Kiln Knowe to the big drain at Legahullion. The tide was in so they could not cross over the drain, but she went over it! She just floated over it. She was described as 'a wee woman wearing a cape with a hood over her head'."

Roy Colhoun, Lifford, Clonleigh Parish
"I had an uncle who used to fish at the Green Braes which lies on the Derry side of Lifford. One day when I was a boy, he ran screaming into our house and threw himself down on the couch in the kitchen. He was pure white. My father asked him what was wrong with him and he said that he had been fishing down at the Green Braes during the night. At dawn, he saw a grey cloaked figure standing further up the river bank.

He thought his friends were playing a trick on him so he decided to get the better of them. He sneaked up behind the figure in grey and laid his hand on its shoulder. The figure turned round and instead of seeing one of his friends, he saw the face of a 'wizened old woman with a pointed chin'. He screamed and fell back on the ground. When he looked up, the figure had vanished. He got to his feet and ran screaming up the Green Braes, through the Diamond in Lifford and up the Coneyburrow Road to his brother's home where he threw himself down on the couch in the kitchen."

Finola Harte, Lifford, Clonleigh Parish.
"When I was a teacher in Boyagh School in Porthall, I heard numerous stories

about Nion Rua. She was said to be the daughter of a Milesian Chieftain who lived on Croaghan Hill and she drowned crossing a ford on the Foyle going over to visit her lover Ith who lived in Ith's Glen near Glenmornin at Moorlough in county Tyrone."

Margaret Edmundson, Drumbuoy, Clonleigh, Lifford, (Mid-September 1997)
"About a fortnight ago, the night watchman walked towards the main door of Strabane Tech. It was a Friday night about midnight and windy and wet. The watchman was about to lock up the Tech. for the night. As he was about to close the large main doors, he looked outside and noticed a very large black dog standing outside the front door. The dog was staring intently at him. He did not know where it had come from. He was sure he had not seen it walking behind him when he had first walked into the building. He was suddenly scared.

He quickly locked the front doors and looked through a window pane. A little woman now stood where the dog had been. She was very small with a pointed chin. She wore a long skirt which covered her feet and she also wore a shawl over her shoulders. She turned and began to glide east across the courtyard. As the night watchman looked on, she gradually rose up in the air and sailed over the school buses parked in the yard near the old Famine graves and travelled on out of sight in the direction of Moorlough."

September 2005: Adeline Maxwell, Cumberland Lodge, Clonleigh.
"When Joe, our eldest boy was aged eleven just over twenty years ago he saw a young girl walk up through the yard. She was 16 or 17 years old and had long fair hair to the waist in two plaits. She wore a long robe which covered her feet and her robes were grey. He saw her on several occasions and ran away shrieking whenever he saw her.

Two elderly ladies felt her presence several times on the bridge over the Swilly (pronounced Sully locally) Burn and refused to go that way at night. On at least one occasion, she passed straight through a gate just opposite our house. I believe she was following an old footpath. From our house, she passed over to Mullinaveigh and then went over to Dromore Hill where the Tourish family now live. From there, I believe, she followed a path to Mass Hill and stopped at the Rock on Mass Hill farm.

A local man said he once saw a young woman at Masshill Rock when he was out snaring rabbits. The woman just disappeared. It was a winter's night in 1949 or 1950. The man emigrated to England shortly after and has since died so I have never been able to fully verify the story. My family were still living at Mass Hill then. Coincidentally, my brother David was born in mid-November of 1949.

The Rock which formerly stood on an escarpment at Mass Hill was a large anvil-shaped rock. I believe it may have had some pre-Christian significance as Nion Rua is often seen at sites of pre-Christian importance. The early Christians may also have used this Rock as an altar as there is a record of cursing stones in New Row which is the next-but-one townland to Mass Hill. Family tradition relates that King James heard Mass at the Rock while on his way to the siege of Derry and my family were presented to him then. Subsequently, the Rock was extensively used in penal times as a centre of worship."

The present owner, Mr. Elvin Thompson has plans to restore the Rock to its former position. At present the Rock lies on its side beside a gate.

Activity in the Gort and Braade farms.
There are numerous stories of a little woman haunting a house in the Gort in the 1930's. The owner was a bachelor and finally drove off on his motorbike early one morning. He refused to return and sold the farm and emigrated to New Zealand within a fortnight. In the adjacent town land of Braade, the present owner also a bachelor, still refuses to use the upstairs rooms of his home because of the "wee woman" there.

Belinda Mahaffy, a native of Clonleigh parish, lives near Lifford. She has a B.A. degree from T.C.D. and a H.Dip.Ed. from Maynooth College. Her interests include genealogy and local history. She is a member of the executive committee of Donegal Historical Society and has previously written an article on the Crocketts of Donegal. In 1996, she published a booklet on the United Irishmen of East Donegal.

Acknowledgements
I would like to thank anyone who over the years has shared a fairy story with me.

Photo: the author.

WILLIAM ALFRED LIPSETT (1886-1915)

From Ballyshannon to Flanders via Alberta

Anthony P. Quinn

The Lipsetts were merchants with an address at Main Street, Ballyshannon, Co Donegal. William Alfred was born on 29 January 1886, fourth son of Robert Lipsett and his wife Martha Elizabeth, nee Bowker, sometimes shown as Booker.

EDUCATION

Although he was from a Church of Ireland family, William was educated at St Andrew's College, St Stephen's Green, Dublin, which had Presbyterian connections. He played rugby for the college. Following the tradition of British public schools and other upper-class educational establishments, St Andrew's reinforced the virtues of loyalty, honour and glory through competitive sport. Classical education conditioned youths to emulate Greek and Roman bravery and English literature encouraged colonial attitudes. Schools and colleges facilitated military recruitment. Students were prepared for both civil and military service.

William Alfred later studied at Trinity College, Dublin (TCD) and graduated with a BA in 1908 from the University of Dublin. Admitted as a student to the King's Inns, Dublin in 1904 he was called to the Bar of Ireland in Trinity Term, 1907.His legal practice was mainly on the North West Circuit. In Spring 1914, he emigrated to Canada and was engaged in legal work in Calgary, Alberta.

MILITARY CAREER

Following the family tradition and a trend among his Irish contemporaries, William Alfred joined the army. Almost seven hundred past pupils of St Andrew's College enlisted in the British and other Allied forces. Many TCD

graduates, including barristers and solicitors, were recruited through the Dublin University Officer Training Corps. William Alfred enlisted in the 10th battalion, Alberta Regiment, 2nd brigade, 1st Canadian Infantry Division known as the Canadians. Unusually for a university graduate and barrister, Lipsett was not an officer. Refusing a commission, he served as a grenadier/private, number 20330.

He served on the Western Front. During the 2nd battle of Ypres on the night of 22/23 April 1915, the 10th and 16th Canadian battalions and the Canadian Scottish troops charged a wood west of St Julian, now called St-Juliaan, in Flanders, Belgium. During a hand grenade attack, the Canadians suffered many casualties. William Lipsett was killed within ten or fifteen yards of the German redoubt. As his body was never recovered, he has no known grave. His adjutant described him as an excellent and gallant soldier. He was among the many past pupils of St Andrew's who enlisted in the Allied armies and were killed in the First World War.

REMEMBRANCE

William Alfred Lipsett is named on the following memorials, Rolls of Honour and publications: memorial board at St Andrew's College, now at Booterstown, Co Dublin; TCD, memorial and War Dead List, no 258; barristers memorial, Four Courts, Dublin; memorial at the Royal Courts of Justice, Belfast; Menin Gate, Ypres, now called Ieper, Flanders, Belgium, CWG ref. 24,28,30; Roll of Honour, Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Ireland, lodge 287, Ballyshannon; St Anne's, Church of Ireland parish of Kilbarron, Ballyshannon, Lipsett family grave number 178 and on plaque in the church, as noted in *Donegal Annual*, 1978;Canadian Roll of Honour, copy extract in Christie, *For King and Empire, the Canadians at Ypres*, 22-26 April 1915; *County Donegal Book of Honour*, 2002.

FAMILY CONNECTIONS

William's eldest brother, Major Lewis Richard Lipsett, OBE, MA, LL.D, (TCD), barrister, was a solicitor before being called to the Irish Bar in 1912 and the English Bar in 1918. Having served in the Army Service Corps during the First World War, he became counsel to the Irish Attorney General, Arthur Warren Samuels, whose son Capt. Arthur P I Samuels, Royal Irish Rifles died in Flanders in 1916. Capt. Samuels married into the Young family of Culdaff, Co Donegal.

Lewis R Lipsett was appointed King's Counsel, KC, in 1921 and practised on the North-West Circuit. In contrast to his younger brother William, Lewis had a long life. He died in October 1957 aged 81 and is named on the family grave number

178, at St Anne's, Ballyshannon and on a plaque in the church as having served during the Great War and survived.

A cousin of William and Lewis, Major-General Louis J Lipsett, CBE, MC, son of Richard Lipsett, served with the Royal Irish Regiment. He commanded the 8th battalion, Canadian Infantry during the 2nd battle of Ypres, and became GOC, 3rd Canadian Division. He was killed in action on 16th October 1918 just before the First World War ended and is named on grave number 179 at St Anne's, Ballyshannon.

The Corscadden grave is no. 88. Another cousin of William, Sarah Margaret Lipsett, married George Corscadden. Their daughter, Hazel, was mother of Tony Blair, MP, British Prime Minister who therefore had a grandmother named Lipsett.



Memorial to Irish Barristers killed in the Great War in the Four Courts in Dublin.
Sculptor – Andrew Sheppard.
William A. Lipsett's name is second on the right hand column.

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Quinn, Anthony P, *Wigs and Guns, Irish Barristers and the Great War*, Irish Legal History and Four Courts Press: www.four-courts-press.ie William A Lipsett is one of the twenty-five Irish barristers who died in the Great War and are named on the Bar memorial and also featured in the book.

Anthony P (Tony) Quinn is a TCD graduate and barrister. A former senior civil servant, he was called to the Bars of Ireland, Northern Ireland, and England & Wales, Lincoln's Inn and the Middle Temple. He has written and broadcast on many topics, including credit unions, law and local history and won the Ledwidge poetry award. He is a former chair of the Irish Writers' Union and delegate to the European Writers' Congress. With his wife, Ann, he spends much time in County Donegal where they enjoy walking the hills and researching local stories.

Acknowledgements

Barristers' Memorial, Four Courts, Dublin. Photograph by Godfrey Graham; lighting by Jim Butler.

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE PROJECT 2002-2007:

A Strategy for Action for Public Libraries

Bernie Campbell

Libraries, museums and archives in Ireland have a long tradition of collecting and preserving material related to our cultural history. Access to this heritage, both local and national, enriches society through nurturing creativity, imagination, a sense of place and a sense of pride in our past. The Department for Environment, Heritage and Local Government and library authorities have set a challenging agenda in relation to developing libraries as centres of culture. The key element of this agenda is the digitisation and online publication of significant holdings in the public libraries. This would allow further access to a rich vein of exciting historical material. The project was initiated in 2002/2004 under the management of An Chomhairle Leabharlanna, (the Library Council) with the financial support of the Department. It developed a portal website, "*Ask About Ireland*" www.askaboutireland.ie to showcase the local studies collections of public libraries, museums and archives.

Guidelines and procedures for digitisation projects were established, and project leaders were chosen from each of the 37 institutions opting to take part.

Major pilot projects were established in libraries, museums and archives, covering architecture, transport, Irish authors, flora & fauna, etc. Staff from each of these institutions received training in the digitisation of particular media such as photographs, audio-video, newspapers, maps, etc.

Donegal County Library's first foray into this new venture was to contribute items on the Boyd family of Ballymacool, Letterkenny, to the "Big Houses of Ireland" phase of the project. I used, as the basis, several decades of correspondence between Mr Brian Boyd, one of the last Ballymacool Boyds, and Mrs May McClintock. Working as a team with Caroline Carr (Museum) and Niamh Brennan (Archivist), we collected and put together some interesting facts about this family and its famous descendants worldwide. For the next phase in

late 2003, I was lucky to have the help of Ms Niamh MacNamara, who was on contract to the County Museum. We chose photographic and documentary items from our local Archives, Central Library and the Museum to build and upload web pages based on the life and works of authors Cathal Ó' Searcaigh and Patrick MacGill; this was followed by information and images dealing with the history of road and bridge construction in the county. Indeed, the most rewarding and exciting aspect of this part of the project was discovering and making available to the viewing public for the first time, such items as the humorous menu composed by MacGill while in the trenches in France during WW1, and the first drafts of some of Cathal Ó' Searcaigh's poems scribbled on material such as paper serviettes. At the same time, postgraduate student Ms Arlene Crampsie, based in the County Archives, used extensive research and original archive-based documents on the Union of Milford to contribute to a special project on Poor Law Unions for the same website.

The present phase (2005-2006) deals with the collection and uploading of information on the Heritage/Historic Towns of Ireland. I have "showcased" Ardara, Ballyshannon, Moville, Ramelton and Raphoe, much of it using eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth century documentary information, sourced from our local archives. Included are several 17th, 18th and 19th century maps from the Library's own collection, old postcards supplied by the museum, and correspondence from local government bodies from the same era. I must also acknowledge the help of Anthony Begley of this society in supplying me with images and information from Ballyshannon. Indeed, much of the historical background for our chosen towns was sourced from past articles in the *Donegal Annual.*

The site is targeted at users of all definitions, including researchers and students. There are several on-site games whose aim is to improve students' geographical and literary knowledge in a fun way, along with online gazetteers of local studies and special collections in Irish libraries. I have included external links from our site to other websites both national and international, and, of course, one to the County Donegal Historical Society's website. As a postscript, I would like to add that I have recently been asked for further information by a student in Spain doing a doctoral thesis on the novels of Patrick MacGill. It transpires that he has translated MacGill's "Soldier Songs" into Spanish.

The *Ask About Ireland* site was launched nationally and locally during Heritage Week in September 2005. The core findings of the project are that:

- Digitisation units in local libraries, museums and archives sectors are **viable**

- Establishing digitisation projects in organisations with limited IT skill resources and no digitisation expertise is **feasible**.

- A wider national digitisation strategy supporting such projects will be viable and valuable.

- It is not necessary to use complex, expensive technology. This will ensure the **sustainability** of any project using a similar approach. Consequently, ongoing maintenance of virtual collections can be achieved.

- Personnel involved in the project are now conscious of the way in which it adds value to their collections. In many cases, digitisation provides a new mode of access to, and increases interest in local collections with relatively low profiles.

- There is a high level of public interest in local history material online, leading to knock-on value for cultural tourism.

LINKS

Donegal County Museum:
http://www.donegal.ie/dcc/arts/county_museum.htm

Archives: http://www.donegal.ie/dcc/arts/archive.htm

Library: http://www.donegallibrary.ie

Bernie Campbell is a Senior Library Assistant at the Central Library, Letterkenny, Co.Donegal. She is involved in the project *Ask About Ireland*. She is a graduate of UCD in Irish, English and History.

THE IRISH IN THE PACIFIC NORTH WEST:

From Radicalism to Affluence with Letterkenny's Edward Boyce.

Timothy J. Sarbaugh

Edward Boyce was born near Letterkenny, County Donegal, Ireland, on November 15, 1862. He was raised on a small farm with his brother, sister, and parents. Four major developments in his early life influenced and determined, to a great extent, Boyce's immigrant experience in America until his death in Portland, Oregon on Christmas Eve, 1941:

1) his catholic faith, which always vacillated between torment and solace,

2) his education in the national schools, which provided him with the necessary skills of expression to succeed in the United States,

3) his parents' work ethic, which instilled in him at an early age his belief in the integrity of hard work; and finally

4) the difficult and turbulent political and economic times in the Ireland in which he lived.

So it was this Catholic, educated, industrious, Irish exile whose sojourn of American immigration resulted in his emerging as a radical socialist labour leader of the western miners and in his becoming an entrepreneur and a capitalist who owned a lucrative hotel business. In Irish terms, what Boyce did in his lifetime was to go from the peasant's cottage to the Lord's manor, and throughout it all, Ireland and its cause proved to be a secondary feature of Boyce's life.

FROM LETTERKENNY TO BOSTON

In 1882, Boyce arrived in Boston. A year later, he began his migration westward following the path of other unemployed labourers, looking for opportunity and



Edward Boyce

fortune. After working in the lumber and railroad construction camps of Wisconsin for a year, Boyce found himself in the mining frontier of America. For the next ten years, he worked in the various lead, silver, and copper mines of Idaho, Colorado, Nevada, and Montana, participated in, and in some cases, led fellow miners in strikes and protests against employers for their deplorable working conditions and low wages, and finally was elected populist state senator in 1893 on a workers' reform platform in Idaho.

But in 1895, Boyce was disappointed with the results of his efforts to push through labour reform in the state legislature, and walked away from politics to embrace what he considered the only viable means to achieve justice for workers - labour unionism. Hence, he settled in the mining community of Wallace, Idaho and became secretary of the local branch of the Western Federation of Miners (WFM), a union that was established in 1893 in order to organise specifically to force mine owners to improve the conditions of their workers. Within a year, Boyce moved his way up and was elected president of the WFM which had a membership of 2,500 and 14 affiliated unions whose headquarters was in Butte, Montana.

BOYCE AS PRESIDENT OF THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

During his six year presidency (1896-1902), Boyce and the WFM intensified efforts by leading its membership in three major strikes during which serious injuries, and in some cases, deaths did occur. Confrontation and violence occurred in Leadville, Colorado (1896-1897), and in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho (1899). The turnout of the Federal troops and the halfway reform measures that were accepted but were never enforced transformed Boyce. This former pragmatic reformer became a socialist radical who changed his goals for an eight - hour work day and better wages to workers taking over the means of production. Further emboldened by the friendship and ideas of Eugene Debs, the columns of Patrick Ford's ***Irish World***, and the contents of Michael Davitt's **The *Fall of Feudalism in Ireland***, Boyce audaciously voiced his radical and socialistic beliefs in his promulgations as president of the WFM. His conversion to revolutionary socialism brought him into an altercation with Samuel Gompers, the head of the moderate American Federation of Labour, which the WFM had associated with as a charted affiliate since 1893.

From 1896 to 1897, the dispute between the two men emerged during the violent strike in Leadville, Colorado. Boyce, during the strike, insisted on confrontation and not compromise, requested relief funding from Gompers and the AFL, and sought aid of Eugene Debs who spoke not only to Leadville miners but spent a month and a half touring throughout most of the Western mining camps in early 1897. At each stop, Debs spoke of the efficacy of violent resistance, and the need for workers to unite to eventually control the means of production. Meanwhile, Gompers failed to heed the calls of financial assistance and wrote the following explanation to Boyce. The AFL did not have enough money to send to him because, "*All know that our affiliated organisations pay but one - quarter of a cent for each member into the funds of the American Federation of Labour.*"

Despite Gomper's explanation, Boyce felt betrayed by the lack of financial support forthcoming from the AFL. He admonished Gompers that without financial support his strike must inevitably take the alternate path of violence for it is, "*the easier way of winning battles of labour. . . than sitting down in idleness until the capitalist starves us to death*." In the end, Boyce informed Gompers that, "*the labouring men of the West were 100 years ahead of their brothers in the East*," and that "*No two men in the labour movement differ as widely as you and I.*"

Of course, Gompers was incensed and disappointed by Boyce's obstinacy, his advocacy of violence as well as by the rumours that Boyce was preparing to withdraw his affiliation with the AFL. He decried Boyce's militancy and

possible secession as treasonous acts to the cause of labour. He wrote that in order to be successful, labour must maintain a united front and, *"as for your suggestion that resort must be to the sword, I prefer not to discuss it. . . . . Force may have changed forms of government but never attained real liberty*." Instead, he suggested that, "*Idleness and hunger need be borne by labourers sometimes to safely secure their desires*," and recommended that the use of the ballot to secure the rights of labour was the best route for American workers to take. Simply put, for Gompers liberty was a ,"*matter of growth of education and progress and not violence*."

In his remarks to the delegates at the WFM's annual convention at the end of 1897, Boyce revealed the little effect Gomper's repudiation had on him. Boyce advised the delegates that "*every union should have a rifle club. I strongly advise you to provide every member with the latest approved rifle. . . so that in two years, we can hear the inspiring music of the martial tread of 25,000 armed men in the ranks of labour*." In addition to an army, Boyce urged the union to buy the mines in order to give the workers true liberty and justice - ownership of the means of production. He also advocated the creation of a separate western labour union to promote their cause in the face of eastern labour indifference and interaction. It was at this point in his life - a short fifteen years in America and involvement in the labour movement - this Irish immigrant "*was ranked as one of the most radical of labour leaders*" in the United States.

One of his achievements as leader was to found a monthly journal for miners called ***The Miners Magazine*.** The Union continued to grow but it became involved in several unsucessful strikes and lockouts which drained its financial resources. Boyce felt overwhelmed; in 1902 alone he logged 17,000 miles on union business and was working seven days a week. Eventually he was foced to resign as a result of exhaustion.

BOYCE'S RESIGNATION

As Boyce removed himself from the leadership of Western Unionism, he made a final declaration in favour of socialism in his resignation speech. A week after his resignation, the entry in Boyce's diary simply read, *"This is the first day's rest I had in six years, and I enjoyed it immensely*." However, while Boyce effectively walked down the path of resignation, he also was creating a new life of affluence and peace. It began with his marriage to Eleanor Day, a school teacher and daughter of a Wardner, Idaho merchant. This relationship began and blossomed during Boyce's presidency of the WFM. Because of his union work, however, Boyce only saw his fiancée four times in 1900, and in January 1901, he actually had to mail his engagement ring to her. Finally on May 14, 1901 they were married.

Eleanor did not detract from his labour duties, but faithfully toiled alongside her husband. Yet, a year later their lives were changed immensely. She along with her family had been investing in and managing the Hercules mine, near Burke, Idaho. In June 1901, miners struck the richest silver - lead vein discovered up to that time in the area. Boyce and Eleanor were to become wealthy. By 1902, they were receiving dividends as much as $2,500 a month. Eventually the Boyce's moved to Portland, Oregon where they purchased the Hotel Portland in 1909. For his remaining thirty years, Boyce was the attentive entrepreneur, worrying about profit and expenditure, as well as the paternal aristocrat, giving money to local charities and selective national causes. In both these endeavours, he proved to be as indefatigable as he was in his presidency of the WFM, leaving an estate worth 1.7 million dollars. But this former rebel for worker's justice also became a rebel for Irish freedom. For interestingly enough, throughout his sojourn from newly - arrived immigrant, he harboured hatred towards British injustice for his forced exile from Ireland, for his absence from the deathbeds of both mother and father, and for Ireland being an oppressed colony and not a free nation. Sentiment and constitutionalism but not revolution would guide Boyce's activities concerning Ireland.

BOYCE AND IRISH NATIONALISM

During his days as the Irish rebel of the US labour movement, Boyce's Irish nationalism was one of personal sentiment and not of an activism to free Ireland. As a miner, he was a member of the Robert Emmet Literary Association of Butte, read the columns of the ***Irish World*****,** supported Parnell's Home Rule campaign, and contributed to the Lane League. Yet the most moving account of his attachment to Ireland was during his return to Ireland with his new wife in August - September 1901. After he dictated eight letters, he and Eleanor left for Ireland, arriving in Philadelphia by train and setting sail for Queenstown. They finally arrived in Cork on August 10, and immediately began a sightseeing tour of Ireland, visiting Blarney Castle, staying at the Crystal Palace Hotel in Killarney, making an excursion through the Gap of Dunloe "*down to the beautiful lakes of Killarney*," spending two days in Dublin, and visiting *"Phoenix Park and other historic places*" such as Glasnevin cemetery. Finally, they made their way to Derry on August 31. "*In Derry I bought a headstone for my father's and mother's graves*" and then they left for the familiar town of Letterkenny where a few miles outside in the country there was the birthplace of Boyce and the burial site of his parents. The entries in his journal for September 1 - 4 were terse, "*Letterkenny," "Letterkenny," "Letterkenny*," and finally on September 4, *"Went to cemetery and erected headstone for my father's and mother's graves*." This painful yet cathartic experience did not easily flow from the pen of Boyce, and within a few days, he

hurriedly departed Ireland with his wife, arriving in Denver by September 26 at 6.30 pm.

A few years after this trip, he became the owner of the Portland Hotel. Between 1909 - 1914, Boyce donated to John Redmond's Irish Parliamentary Party's campaign for Home Rule legislation. In fact, he solicited support from one hotel owner in Burke, Idaho, who reported back to Boyce that he was having difficulty in collecting funds from local Irish miners*: "Although we have twenty Irish miners in the hotel, we can't interest them in Home Rule thanks to the saloons . . . . Home Rule won't amount to anything here. They have good jobs and that is all they care about*." Boyce also helped establish a branch of the American - Irish Historical Society in March 1913.

BOYCE RETURNS TO LETTERKENNY

During this critical period in Irish history, when passage and implementation of Home Rule as well as Civil war seemed imminent, Boyce, who felt age catching up with him, made his second and last trip to Ireland. On May 1, he arrived in Belfast and stayed at the Grand Metropole Hotel. He was disappointed; "*My impression of Belfast is not a glowing one; I am very much disappointed in the city in every way. It is not clean and poverty is everywhere in evidence and the business conditions appear to be very quiet*." The next day, he visited his family. *"I went to my sister's house where I met her, her two daughters and my brother John who had come in from the country to meet me*." Together, they travelled the beautiful scenic coastline of Northern Ireland near Portstewart and Portrush which he characterized as "*a dream of beauty*" and *"looked like a fairy land*." And in spite of bad weather, he along with his brother and sister made a trip to Letterkenny to visit their parents' graves, and to walk through the countryside of their youth. Never once did he refer to the volatile political and military situation in Ireland.

In mid - May as he sailed away from the Irish coast, he reminisced about his first departure in 1882*: "It will be 31 years, September 7, 1913, since I sailed from Derry on the S.S. Scandinavian from Boston; at that time all my thoughts were for my dear good mother that I left pining over the departure of her last son for I knew well I would never see her again; this time I am confident I will never see again the green lilies of Ireland now so clearly in view, but I am happy at the thought of being home with my good wife two weeks from date*." His journey home was entertaining: *"During the afternoon passengers engaged in games which made it pleasant. In the second cabin this evening, Rev. Patterson of Armagh, Ireland, a temperance advocate and author of "**Catch My Pal**" lectured on temperance. Most of the passengers attended the farce."* He arrived in Portland by train, concluding that *"I am glad I made the trip and am glad to be*

home." The next day, he was at a friend's funeral and then back to work, noting "*weather beautiful*."

As was evident in his diary, Boyce's personal feelings and goals dominated his last trip to Ireland and deafened the cries of Irish freedom and civil war. He was preoccupied with his own war and peace. However, for the next eight years, 1914 -1922, he transformed his emigrant despondency into the optimism and zeal of an advocate of Irish nationalism. Boyce went beyond giving financial support by actively campaigning for Irish independence in his correspondence and speeches. He sent to state legislatures in Idaho and Oregon copies of a congressional "*resolution of sympathy and encouragement*" for the enactment of John Redmond's Home Rule bill. In his letters, Boyce not only justified granting self - government to Ireland but also editorialised and suggested that implementation of this measure would reconcile the two peoples: "*The enactment of a Home Rule for that country will unite the people of England and Ireland for the uplift and betterment of the peoples of both countries to a degree that will ensure a lasting unity of friendship and prosperity*." He ended by attributing the final success of Home Rule to the *"conduct of John Redmond and the Irish party in the House of Commons which shows them to be broadminded, able Statesmen."*

Once World War I commenced, Boyce maintained his support of John Redmond and his Irish Parliamentary party by accepting postponement in the implementation of Home Rule until after the defeat of the Germans. In fact, he spoke to the Associated British Societies in Portland on the anniversary of Empire Day, May 24, 1915. He commented on the "*world - wide conflict of nations*," observing favourably, "*Whatever the final outcome of this uncalled - for war may be, members of the Association of British societies have reason to rejoice, for at no time in the history of the British Empire were the people of every country within the Empire so united as they are today in support of the government*." He thought that unlike the past where England's difficulty was Ireland's opportunity, *"having won that measure of self - government for which they and their fathers have so valiantly contended, the people of Ireland are today in accord with all the other countries of the British empire in support of the government*." He then quoted from a speech delivered by John Redmond on April 5 in Dublin before 25,000 Irish volunteers, which essentially propagated that all Irish people should be willing to fight German tyranny in return for a free constitution. Thus, Boyce enjoined his audience: *"Let us all rejoice and let all thinking men and woman throughout the civilise world support Great Britain because of the measure of Home Rule enacted for Ireland,"*

Boyce had definately defined himself not as an Irish revolutionary but as an Irish constitutionalist. During World War I, he mainly supported the struggle in Europe while he remained reticent about Irish affairs. 1916 did not demand

attention in his journal. In fact, during Easter week, he recorded that he *"had to hit a duffer who was insulting,*" that "*this is the first clear day we had this spring*," and that he saw the birth of the nation, admitting, "*I did not care much for it*." Despite his lack of interest in these days of republican violence, he felt betrayed by Britain who failed to implement Home Rule after Armistice Day, November 11, 1918. Therefore, he ignored the cause of Irish freedom and directed all his energies against President Wilson's League of Nations at the Paris Peace Conference.

Boyce began a writing campaign, asking state and federal legislators to defeat the League of Nations because Wilson failed to uphold self - determination for the small nation of Ireland. In his letters to Oregon's Senator Charles McNary, Boyce argued: "*The ratification of the League of Nations under the wording of this Article 10 binds the United States to support Great Britain in her policy of holding Ireland a vassal nation against the expressed will of the Irish people in their struggle for self - determination*." He also wrote a letter to the Congressional leader of this anti - League and anti - Wilson campaign, Senator Hiram Johnson of California. *"Your splendid fight for the preservation of American traditions against the most sinister campaign of propaganda ever inaugurated by men is gaining strength every day, and in the end I firmly believe you will be amply rewarded by a complete victory for the cause you so ably defended…I fail to understand how this spurious thing could ever find one American to defend it*." He then abandoned his support of the Democratic party in a letter to the director of the Democratic National Committee: *"Mr Wilson without any question of doubt believes that all the wisdom and statesmanship in the United States is securely stored in his head, and in this belief he has been supported by the Democratic party, with the result that sectionalism, in competency, and extravagance might well be termed the cardinal principles of the party,"*

BOYCE AND DE VALERA

In 1919, Boyce had the opportunity to have dealings with Eamon de Valera, Provisional President of the Irish Republic, who had secretly sailed to the United States in June 1919. From his first days in America, de Valera sought Boyce's assistance for the accomplishing of three goals: organizing a tour of the western United States, establishing his bond certificate drive in Oregon, and directing a campaign to achieve official American recognition of the Irish republic. In all these activities, Boyce gave of his money and time. He helped organize de Valera's visit to Portland in November 1919 and on the day of his arrival reported: *"I worked on my auto all day with Hans Johnson. Took my machine to the depot at 7.30 this evening to meet President de Valera of Ireland who came from Seattle. Attended a dinner at the Portland Hotel given in honour of President de Valera at which two hundred and thirty were present. I was very much impressed with Mr. de Valera's*

speech as it was delivered and was a wonderful exposé of British misrule in Ireland." The next day he wrote: "*At the Portland Hotel nearly all day. Went to the Auditorium to hear President de Valera of Ireland speak on the cause of his country. His speech was both interesting and instructive and left no doubt in the minds of thinking people that Ireland is entitled to her own government.*"

After this speech, de Valera asked him to direct his bond certificate drive. But because of the demands of the hotel business and because of his many out of state sojourns, Boyce declined the request. Yet he did recommend another leading Irish -American of Oregon, Andrew White, who accepted, and did donate one thousand dollars to the drive. Boyce's formal refusal was sent in the following telegram, addressed to de Valera in New York: "*Being absent from the state much of my time, I could not properly fill the position of chairman of the American Commission for Irish Independence in Oregon. Stop. Otherwise, I will gladly do everything within my power to keep in the good work you are doing. I am with you and the great cause you represent till death.*"

After de Valera's departure, Boyce remained loyal to him and followed closely the horrors unfolding in Ireland during the Anglo - Irish War. In one letter, he donated one hundred dollars for relief and opined that his check was necessary because, "*Ireland made destitute by the British government in its campaign of murder and plunder in Ireland*." After getting news of Terence MacSwiney's death, he made the following entry on October 26: "*Heavy rain. Newspapers report this morning that Terence McSwiney, Mayor of Cork, Ireland had died yesterday in Brixton prison England after refusing to eat food for 74 days. Another victim of English misrule in Ireland, another victim of English bigotry, another victim of English atrocity which she has practiced for centuries in every country of the world. Speed the day when England will not control a foot of soil outside her shores and may the smallest nation on earth hold her people in bondage till the name of England is forever forgotten*." He also felt compelled to write a letter during the summer of July 1921 to Senator Robert La Folette, praising him for his speech in congress in support of American recognition of the Irish Republic: "*… I wish to convey to you my most hearty approval of your logical argument, not alone for the Irish people who are valiantly contending for their independence, but for your courage to proclaim American tradition, which has become symbolical of treason in influential circles in own country during the past eight years.*"

BOYCE'S FINAL YEARS

In spite of his abundant pro - de Valera and anti-British protests Boyce abruptly ceased his activities, speeches, and writings about Ireland after the truce, the

Anglo-Irish Treaty and the creation of the Irish Free State by January 1922. Like most Irish-Americans, Boyce agreed with Michael Collins that the Irish Free State was a stepping stone to the deployment of a united and independent Ireland, and disagreed with de Valera's rejection. The tragic Irish Civil War that followed pained Boyce so much that henceforth until his death he never was actively involved in the struggle of Irish nationalism. Until his death in 1941, his journal has no references to Ireland and was filled with business activities and train travels. Only two letters in his daily correspondence reveal his continued concern for Ireland and his hatred for England.

In 1938, he sent money to purchase a subscription to the ***Derry Journal***, but he also recalled in this same letter the historical significance of de Valera's new Irish constitution: "*It is a consolation to have lived to see the remarkable progress made by the Irish people in their fight for independence from the time of Parnell and his brave associates who first attracted attention in the House of commons, to the adoption of the Constitution. Those who carried on the unequal fight against the most powerful empire in the world were extraordinary people; weaklings would have faltered in the struggle long ago*." In 1940, he abandoned president Franklin Delano Roosevelt because he supported Churchill and England against Germany. Ireland's injustice and American issues were more important and should take precedence over the British Empire.

Thus, Boyce went to his grave silent about Ireland, a silence maintained for 20 years. Just as he refused to write about his parents, he was also unwilling to comment on the other matter that he cared about so deeply - Ireland. This radical socialist - turned millionaire forever embraced a sentimental love for Ireland and hatred for England. Nonetheless, it was only for a brief moment that he acted as an Irish nationalist, not as a violent revolutionary, but as a Redmond constitutionalist and as a supporter of de Valera's Irish republic. But with the treaty and with the civil war, Boyce, as he did during his labour activism, withdrew into a cynicism of disaffection. As nothing would ever change for the workers in the mines, nothing would change for the people of Ireland. Relegated to a life of silent disillusionment, Boyce occupied the last two decades of his life, by forgetting, by investing his money, by going on long extended vacations, and by minding the accounts of his Portland Hotel. In the end, Boyce seemed to comprise part of Kirby Miller's disillusioned exile, Eric Foner's radical quest for social justice, and finally Thomas Brown's search for respectability. This Irish immigrant was able to live such a varied personal and professional life because he took advantage of his environment, the opportunities and fluidity of frontier life in the Pacific Northwest, and because his profile fitted the contours of the "Western Irish."

SOURCES

This paper is primarily based upon Edward Boyce's personal and business papers contained in the archives of Eastern Washington Historical Society (Portland, Oregon) and Butte-Silver Bow Museum (Butte, Montana).

Timothy J. Sarbaugh was an Associate Professor of History at Gonzaga University in Spokane, Washington. He wrote numerous articles on the Irish in the American West and edited a book entitled, *The Irish in the West* (Kansas: Sunflower University Press, 1993).

He died in 1996 aged 43. Before his death he submitted the paper for publication to Michael Mc Guinness, Derry.

Photo: by permission of Oregon Historical Society, Portland, USA.

CARNDONAGH CROSS RESTORATION PROJECT

John Kelly

Due to the condition of the Carndonagh High Cross and the risk of further damage because of its proximity to the road Dúchas, the Heritage Service initiated a programme of conservation and relocation to include the cross and associated pillar stones. Lithan Limited were invited to act as the conservators for the project and to advise on those aspects of the Carndonagh High Cross Project that involved the removal and transport to Drumahaire, Co.Leitrim.. The single stone forming a mortised, basal slab to the cross was also included in the project as it was considered to be an early, if not an original feature.

PRELIMINARY IN SITU INSPECTION

High Cross

Each of the surfaces of the cross was covered with organic growths of various lichen types. These growths included a green algal mat that occurred overall but varied in thickness, a grey lichen mat largely restricted to the upper and side areas and a black lichen restricted to discrete patches but of widespread occurrence to the front and rear faces. The general tendency to separation and failure, most noticeable between and within the front and rear faces, had to be regarded as being an ongoing process mainly in response to weathering.

Pillar Stones

The surfaces of both of the pillar stones were covered with an overall algal coating of varied thickness together with isolated, but persistent, growths of various lichen types The condition of both pillars was summarised as being primarily due to penetrative fractures related to inherent fractures/joint planes together with the formation of flakes associated with the intersection of inherent planes of weakness .

Base Slab

Only the upper surface the slab was available for inspection in situ. The exposed surface shows extensive mechanical abrasion and possible fractures extending from the mortise hole.



Restoration of Carndonagh High Cross



Carndonagh High Cross

Surface Protection

Following the findings of the preliminary inspection it was evident that the fragile nature of the surfaces, and in particular those of the high cross, required their full protection in such a manner as would retain all flakes in position and prevent any surface abrasion.

The mortar capping to the socket infill was broken using hand tools and the infill partially removed with the remainder loosened but left in place to provide support with the addition of wooden wedges during the securing of the slings and prior to lifting. Lifting of the cross was carried out as a single lift using a large crane. No damage occurred to any of the items during removal to Dromahair, Co Leitrim.

DETAILED EXAMINATION AND CONSERVATION

The front face of the cross was taken as that elevation facing in the direction of the town. The opposite face was correspondingly taken to be the rear face and with the upper and lower side faces of the shaft and arms designated left and right with respect to this front face.

The pillar stones were arbitrarily designated A and B and differentiated, also arbitrarily, with respect to a particular detail respectively as a zoomorphic design and a harper. The other decorated faces in the relevant pillar stone were considered with respect to these faces

High Cross

The stone used for the cross is basically a schistose grit derived from the locality. The textural nature of this stone is such that it is permeated by at least three sets of intersecting cleavage lamina planes in addition to fracture and joint planes. The presence of the various inherent planes means that a stone which would otherwise be a compact and resistant material will be much more susceptible to the effects of weathering than would otherwise be the case. What might be described as an inherent tendency to separation would have been exacerbated by the manner of working which appears to have largely involved surface picking and which will have induced micro-fracturing in, and between, the grains forming the outer layers.

The organic growth after approximately one week of assisted drying under cover remained and although dehydrated no reduction of the algal coating or failure of lichen mats were seen. The lowest part of the shaft which was previously set to the socket was marked by a band approximately 4 cm wide of fine, compact, hard mortar which corresponds to the level of the mortar infill and with the remaining area

covered by isolated patches of coarse mortar and mortar dusts. Originally this area of the shaft corresponding to the tenon has only been roughly shaped relative to the general surface working which appears to have been carried out as preparatory work within the areas intended for decoration and prior to the carving .

Front Face

The surface shows an overall colour and to a lesser extent a textural variation. The later is due to inherent variation in grain size and fine-grained inclusions and with the former due initially to both organic growth and iron staining. After removal of the algae the colour variation, while attributed in part to organic residues, was due primarily to weathering and to a variation in the amount and distribution of the inherent iron mineralogy.

The surface was weathered overall with a reduction in the clarity of the carved detail and, while extensive fracturing and flake formation were present the surface was not readily friable except within the area corresponding to the part of the shaft covered by the infill mortar. This friability is attributed to an interaction of the stone and the mortar facilitated by water seepage through the mortar infill/stone interface.

Overall there were several locations where the particular condition gave rise to concern with the following of particular note. The upper shaft and arms marked by numerous small fractures and resulting flakes which while not considered to be at risk of immediate loss were thought to be susceptible to frost action, water seepage and associated differential heat transfer. In addition, the inherent fractures extending through the lower left arm have intersected with the dominant lamina planes to form a badly disrupted area. At the approximate mid point of the main shaft to both left and right the planes of the dominant lamina extend into the surface to produce an area of particular instability and from which a relative large fragment has been lost, although it is suspected that this loss was possibly facilitated by a previous episode of mechanical damage. A fracture of particular note runs sub-perpendicularly across the plane of the dominant lamina just above the base of the lowest decorative panel.

Rear Face

This surface also showed an overall colour and, to a lesser extent, a textural variation. The latter is due to inherent variation in grain size and fine-grained inclusions with the former due initially to organic growth and inherent iron staining. After removal of the algae the colour variation, while attributed, in part, to organic residues, was due primarily to weathering and variation in the amount and distribution of the inherent iron mineralogy.

The reasons for the much greater damage to, and loss from, this face relative to the front cannot be fully explained by reference to differences of exposure imposed by the recent display and must be considered as being related to a previous exposure regime.

The interlaced decoration has been largely lost from approximately half of the surface of the face with the remainder significantly reduced. The surface, while best regarded as generally damaged to some degree with extensive fractures and flake edges, was not readily friable. Areas of particular note were found to the right of centre and within the part of the shaft previously set to the socket. Within the first area loose flakes were lifting and within the second a large section was presumed to have been previously lost to mechanical damage and with the remaining parts showing crush damage, loose fragments along the edges and a relatively recent fracture surface. This damage extended into the side faces.

This face also showed the greatest amount of the black lichen patches with an intimate inter-relationship with the surface grain layers due to the increased porosity of the surface layers. This increased porosity appeared to be a surface phenomenon of limited extent and caused further differential layering in addition to that arising from the inherent texture.

Left Side Face

The left face has grooves due to preferential erosion. The progress of the damage has been facilitated by cross fractures and working methods. The surface was regarded as unstable in the lower third due to the numerous loose flakes and chips and the degree of separation along the plane(s) of the dominant lamina in this section. The remainder of the surface retains a significant amount of the decoration albeit in a much reduced condition. However, the extent of the damage and especially the separation was such that it also posed a threat to the integrity of the cross at this section and also to the retention of areas of the front and rear faces, most notably to the upper left of the former.

Right Side Face

The preferential erosion along the edges of the dominant lamina in this face is much more pronounced. It was considered that the absence of the decoration was caused by the extent of the weathering damage rather than to any previous difficulties to working the surface presented by the inherent nature of the stone. The face is also marked by penetrative grooves associated with the dominant lamina planes, textural variation and fractures sub-perpendicular to the general trend of the planar texture imposed by the dominant lamina. It was noted that planes of the less pronounced laminae also cut across these planes. The separation apparent in the lower part is such that it posed a threat to the overall

integrity of the cross, and also to the retention of areas of the front and rear faces most notably to the upper right of the former. An area of similar damage could be seen to the right arm with a similar, but less extensive, effect.

Pillar Stones

While differing in grain size relative to the stone used for the high cross the stone used for each of the pillars is again taken to be a schistose grit derived from the locality. The textural nature of this stone is such that it is permeated by at least two intersecting cleavage lamina planes in addition to fracture and joints planes. The presence of the various inherent planes means that a stone which would otherwise be a compact and resistant material will be much more susceptible to the effects of weathering than would otherwise be the case. In addition the coarser nature of this stone and the manner of working the decoration means that the worked edges were susceptible to weathering.

The surfaces showed a colour and textural variation. The later is due to inherent variation in grain size and veining infill, as microcrystalline quartz, and with the former due initially to both organic growth and iron staining. After removal of the algae the colour variation, while still attributed in part to organic residues, is due primarily to weathering and variation in the amount and distribution in the inherent iron mineralogy.

Pillar Stone A

Front Face

The surface of the front face carries the zoomorphic design and is marked by extensive inherent, penetrative fractures and the intersection of the planes of the dominant and lesser laminae with the worked surface. A large fracture cuts through the decoration to give a location of particular fragility with showed a preferential loss along the edge. Several other fractures approximating the to plane of the dominant lamina extend into the adjoining faces and, in particular, the fracture on the right threatened the integrity of the upper part of the adjoining face.

Right Face

The right face is an inherent joint plane with the decoration worked into the upper part, which is free of the remnants of quartz veining. The decoration has been cut through the plane of the dominant lamina to expose the laminae edges. A series of fractures extend the length of the decorated area and the largest to the right of the decoration posed a risk to both this decoration and that on the first face. Within an area to right of centre at the approximate mid point the intersection of several fractures and the surface has caused the formation of several small, loose blocks.

Rear Face
The face was generally compact with little tendency to separation or fragility. The face has the appearance of having been rounded due to the action of water or mechanical abrasion

Left Face
The left face carries a continuation of the fracture forming the largest flake noted in the previous face. A series of smaller fractures run obliquely to the larger fractures and each lineation formed by the intersection was a location of preferential loss and particular fragility. The lines of the decoration itself cut through the minor laminae to give a general surface fragility. On both sides of the band formed by the mortar on the edge formed with the previous face are a series of grooves that are not considered to be a natural feature.

Pillar Stone B
Front Face
This face carries the outline of a male figure with a harp worked on a plane of the dominant lamina. The integrity of the decorated area was threatened by a series of inherent fractures. The intersection of the fractures at the far left and right also posed a risk to the particular areas of the adjoining faces.

Right Face
The right face carries a spiral decoration on a face, which appeared to have been previously worked to provide a relatively flat surface for the decoration. The opposite face carries a picked decoration within the area of a joint plane. The surface was generally compact with little fragility except in the several locations where the inherent fractures intersect with the joint planes. Preferential erosion had taken place along these lineations.

Left Face
The left face carries a faint decoration in the form of an eagle grasping a salmon with the design largely utilising the natural form of the face and adjoining edges. The surface is overall compact with the only indication of the various pervasive planes showing as the edges of the dominant lamina at the top right and to the right of the face. The detail is greatly reduced and this appears to have been the result of mechanical abrasion.

Base Slab
The stone used is a schistose grit, as before, with three inherent fractures, only two of which show any tendency to separation. One of these two fractures extends from the corner of the opening and, with a further fracture running at approximately forty five degrees, has formed a thick flake on the side which

could be lost with further separation along the plane of either fracture. All of the surfaces are fracture surfaces with the upper and lower formed by separation along the dominant lamina. The upper surface may have been worked to some extent but any evidence of this has been removed by mechanical abrasion.

CONSERVATIONS PROCEDURE

Although none of the stone surfaces of the items could be described as other than fragile it was considered that a general consolidative treatment application was not appropriate given the physical nature of the stones and nature of the primary damage.

The conservation treatment on the Cross was initiated by the general application of a biocide followed by mechanical agitation using natural bristle brushes and the removal of the residues using low pressure water washing. This was directed primarily at the removal of the algal coating. The larger fractures, from whatever cause, were injected with a structural, polyester-based resin using hand pressure only.

Limitation of Conservation Procedures
The intervention procedures carried out have increased the stability of the detail and form of the cross and pillars. However, as the damage is related almost entirely to the inherent nature of the stones and the interaction with weathering agents the procedures could only address the condition pertaining at the time of application. As the items are exposed outdoors they will still be subject to the effects of weathering, albeit now with a significant degree of protection provided by the shelter and new location.

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For further reading:

- Peter Harbison, *The High Crosses of Ireland*, Vol.1, Text; Vol.2 Photographic Survey; Vol. 3 Illustration of Comparative Iconographaphy, (Hambelt, Bonn, 1992).
- Francoise Henry, *Irish Art in the Early Christian Period to AD 800*, (London 1965)
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AN CLÁR DÁ-THEANGACH

I gCóras Oideachais na h-Éireann 1906-1922 agus mar a cuireadh an clár sin i bhfeidhm 'sna scoileanna i gCondae Dhún na nGall.

Pádraig Ó Baoighill

Ba é an clár dá-theangach a cuireadh ar bun sa bhliain 1904, an chead chlár ó bunaíodh Bord an Oideachais Náisiúnta in 1831, a thug cead do mhúinteoirí páistí a raibh Gaeilge acu ó dhúchas, a theagasc trí mheán na Gaeilge. Nuair a bunaíodh Conradh na Gaeilge sa bhliain 1893, bhí sé de sprioc acu an Ghaeilge a athbheochaint mar theanga labhartha ar fud na tire, agus chuir an Conradh brú mór ar an Rialtas an Ghaeilge a bheith acu mar ábhar ar churaclaim na scoileanna. Níor tharla rud ar bith go dtí an bhliain 1902, nuair a chuir an t-Uasal Lehane, a bhí ina chigire leis an Bhord Náisiúnta, dhá chlár dá-theangach os comhair an Bhóird. Dhá bhliain ina dhiaidh sin, sé sin sa bhliain 1904, dfhóghair Coimisinéirí an Bhóird go raibh glactha acu le clár dá-theangach a bhéadh in úsáid sna scoileanna i rith gnáth-uaireanta scoile i gceantracha a raibh an Ghaeilge mar ghnáth theanga labhartha acu.[1]

Thug an Bord Náisiúnta aitheantas don chlár dá-theangach i gceantracha a raibh an Ghaeilge mar ghnáth-theanga na ndaoine, agus fosta i gceantracha a raibh an Ghaeilge agus an Béarla a labhairt iontu. Ach leis an chlár seo a chuir ar bun 'sna scoileanna, bhí cead faoi leith de dhíth ó na Coimisinéirí. Ceann de na gnéithe a ba tabhachtaí den chlár ná go raibh ranganna Gaeilge le bheith curtha ar fáil i gcuideachta an Bhéarla agus bhí aitheantas ag an Ghaeilge mar ábhar ann féin.

Bhí treor-línte leagtha amach ó thaobh an chaighdeáin a rabhthas ag dréim leis. Ins an litir a h-eisíodh i dtaobh na scéimhe, tugadh léargas ar na spriocanna a bhí leagtha síos:

> *"…it was intended not only to promote a thorough acquaintance with the Irish language, both written and spoken, but also to facilitate the acquisition of a sound knowledge of English by Irish-speaking pupils".*[2]

Tá tagairt déanta do bhunú an chlár dá-theangach ag na mór scríobhneoirí uilig

ar chúrsaí oideachas. Déanann McElligott tagairt de mar seo:

> *"a decision which has influenced official policy towards the language to the present day".*[3]

Rinneadh athruithe sa chóras oideachas sa bhliain 1904, agus ar cheann de na h-athruithe sin bhí an clár dá-theangach. Seo mar a dhéanann Coolahan tagairt de:

> *"…specimen programmes were devised as guidelines for different sizes of schools; manual instruction was dropped from the curriculum; and bilingual programmes were permitted for Gaeltacht regions".*[4]

Ó thaobh teagaisc na Gaeilge, bhí spriocanna faoi leith leagtha síos. Bhain na spriocanna seo le léamh, litriú agus scríobhneoireacht ó rang na Naíonáin go dtí an Seachtú rang. Bhí gramadach agus aistí i gceist do ranganna a trí go dtí seacht. Ní raibh an bhéim ar an rud a ba chóir do na múinteoirí a dhéanamh ach ar an rud a bhéadh na páistí ábalta a dhéanamh ag deireadh an chúrsa. Seo, mar shampla, an sprioc a bhí ann do rang na Naíonáin, sé sin, go mbéadh siad ábalta:

> *"Read, spell and understand words of two and three letters as in, say, the first eight lessons of 'An Chead Leabhar' or of 'Cheachta Beaga, Part One'. To copy Irish letters off the blackboard.*[5]

Ba é an caighdeán a bhí leagtha síos don 6ú agus an 7ú rang ná:

> *"Read fluently, understand and explain 100 pages of an advanced Irish Reader. To repeat 80 lines of poetry … To write from dictation with fairly correct spelling, 7 or 8 lines selected from a Reader… To know prefixes and affixes; declension; conjugation; gender … Elementary knowledge of syntax… Essays and letters on ordinary subjects … Good grammar and fairly correct spelling will be required".*[6]

De réir cosúlachta, ba é an fhealsúnacht a bhí taobh thiar den chlár dá-theangach ná go mbéadh an leanbh lárnach sa phróiseas oideachais, ach is deacair an uile dhuine a choinneail sásta mar bhí na múinteoirí ag gearán go raibh clár-oibre ró-throm acu.
Seo mar a cuireadh síos air sa Claidheamh Soluis ar 13ú Feabhra 1909:

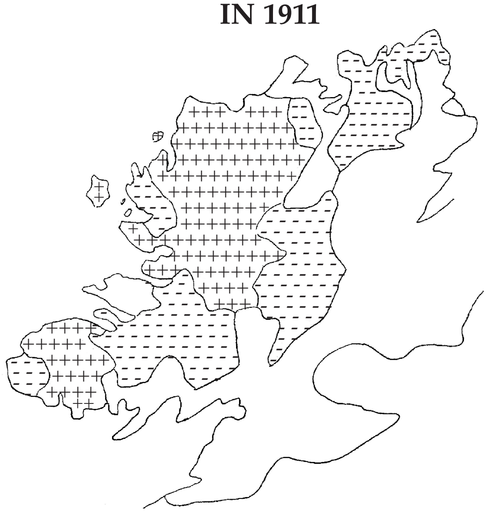
> *"There is an overcrowded programme in unilingual schools. The bilingual schools have even more to complain of. The following ought to be the maximum for a bilingual school – English, including reading, writing, composition, grammar, arithmetic, history and geography, needlework (for girls' and mixed schools) music (optional).*[7]
>
> *In January 1910, teachers in bilingual schools in County Donegal also complained about the overloaded programme.*[8]

Ceann eile de na deacrachtaí a tháining 'un cinn ná go raibh stró mór ar a lán de na múinteoirí, siocar nach raibh traenáil mar ba cheart fáighte acu leis an chlár dá-theangach a theagasc. De réir a chéile, bunaíodh coláistí le traenáil a chur ar fáil do na muinteoirí agus bhí dhá cheann acu sin i gCondae Dhún na nGall, Coláiste na gCeithre Máistrí a bhunaigh an tEasbag Pádraig Ó Domhnaill i Leitir Ceanainn agus a fosclaíodh go h-oifigiúil ar an 1ú Lúnasa 1906[9] agus Coláiste Uladh i nGort a Choirce faoi stúir Chonradh na Gaeilge agus a bunaíodh fosta i 1906.

B'ionann na ceantracha inár bunaíodh an clár dá-theangach agus Gaeltachtaí an lae inniu, ach amháin go raibh páirteanna de Chondae an Chláir san áireamh agus nach raibh Gaeltacht na Midhe ann ar chor ar bith. Sa bhliain 1906, ní raibh ach ocht scoil dhéag dá-theangach sa tír go hiomlán. Sa bhliain 1907, bhí daichead agus a trí acu ann agus sa bhliain 1908 bhí céad agus a deich scoil dá-theangach sa tír uilig, agus bhí caoga is a cúig acu sin i gCondae Dhún na nGall.[10]

Tá an t-airteagal seo dírithe ar mar a bunaíodh an clár dá-theangach i gCondae Dhún na nGall agus mar a d'éirí leis. Ba í Gaeltacht Dhún na nGall an ceantar a ba mhó a raibh an Ghaeilge a labhairt ann ag tús na fichiú h-aoise. {*Féach tabla 1 + 2 thíos*}

Table 1
DISTRIBUTION OF IRISH-SPEAKERS IN COUNTY DONEGAL IN 1911



Percentage of Irish-Speakers
+++ 80.1 - 100
- - - 50.1 - 80
50.0 and less

(Due to scale reduction, Tory Island is not shown on map. The percentage of Irish speakers on Tory was in the 80-100 range)

Source: Coimisiún na Gaeltachta Report, accompanying maps

Table 2
IRISH-SPEAKERS IN COUNTY DONEGAL IN 1891



1891

Barony	Irish Only	Total No. of Irish Speakers	% of Population Irish – Speakers
Banagh	931	12,618	48.0
Boylagh	2,353	16,170	78.4
Inishowen, E.	51	3,837	15.6
Inishowen W.	3	578	4.8
Kilmacrenan	3,384	23,267	49.9
Raphoe N.	2	598	3.7
Raphoe S.	304	3,736	19.7
Tirhugh	9	1,233	6.1
DONEGAL COUNTY	7,037	62,037	33.4

Source:
Brian Ó Cúiv, Irish Dialects and Irish Speaking Districts,
Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies, 1971, p. 83.

D'éirigh go h-iontach maith leis an chlár dá-theangach in Iar-Thuaisceart, in Iarthar agus in Iar-Dheisceart Dhún na nGall. Ghlac na daoine go maith leis agus sa bhliain 1912, bhí sé bunaithe sna scoileanna seo leanas.

Ardcrone	Derrybeg	Derryloughan
Cashelnagor	Knockastoler	Shallogans
Inisheer Isl.	Dore	Ballinamore
Daoghbeg	Dunlewey	Letterbrick
Ballymichael	Cruit Isl.	Croaghs
Cashel (i)	Owey Isl.	Edininfagh
Cashel (ii)	Keadue	Lougheraherk
Ballylar	Arranmore Isl. (i)	Crove
Mevagh	Arranmore Isl. (ii)	Largynasseeragh
Derryhasson	Thorr	Meenaneary
Gortahork	Lettercagh	Coguish
Mulroy	Mullaghduff	Teelin
Cnoc-na-Naomh	Ranafast	Meenacross
Meenderry	Meenaleck	Derryloughan
Knockfola	Ducarry	Graffy
Meenacladdy	Meenacross	Glenvar
Bunainver	Traighena	Innismeen
Tory Isl.	Derryhenny	Innisboffin
Gola Isl.	Letter	Termon
Lunniagh	Glenleighan	Gortnabride

Tháinig an clár i bhfeidhm i scoileanna An Choimín, Baile Chiargáin agus Bailte Fraoich sa bhliain 1913, agus i scoil Mhucrois agus Árd Leathan sa bhliain 1914; scoil an Duibín sa bhliain 1915 agus scoil Loch Muc sa bhliain 1917.[11] Dá réir cosúlachta, sa bhliain 1917, bhí an clár seo sna scoileanna uilig sa chondae a raibh scoláirí ag freastáil orthu nach raibh ábalta buntáiste a bhaint as teagasc tré mheán an Bhéarla, ach amháin dhá scoil a d'ainmnigh an Bord, ba iad sin Machaire Rabhartaigh agus Loch an Iúir.[12]

Is dócha gurbh é an fáth nach raibh an clár curtha i bhfeidhm sna scoileanna seo mar nach raibh Gaeilge ar bith ag na múinteoirí. Ní raibh sé de dhualgas ar mhúinteorí den tseort, cáilíochtaí a bhaint amach sa Ghaeilge.

Go ginearálta, is léir gur ghlac na múinteoirí sa Chondae leis an chlár dá-theangach. Sa bhliain 1909, rinne an tUasal Morris ón Bhord Náisiúnta, scrúdú ar na scoileanna dá-theangacha agus dúirt sé go raibh na múinteoirí i gCondae Dhún na nGall iontach fóirsteanach leis an chlár seo a theagasc mar gur daoine áitiúla an mhórchuid acu agus labhair siad sa chanúint áitiúil.[13]

Ach bhí fáth eile gur éirí go maith leis an chlár i nDún na nGall, a ba é sin go raibh dearcú dearfach ag an chléir ina leith. Chomh luath leis an bhliain 1909, labhair an Dr. Pádraig Ó Domhnaill, Easbag Rath Bhoth, ag Féis Thír Chonaill agus thug sé árd moladh don chlár. Bhí Féis na bliana sin ar siúl i dTeileann agus seo cuid den méid a bhí le rá ag an Easbag:

> "We are all proud of the number of bilingual schools in Donegal. I do not think that any engine was yet devised for the education of Irish children equal in its power to a good bilingual school".[14]

Ag cruinniú poiblí eile a ndearna an tEasbag freastáil air níos moille an bhliain chéanna faoi chúrsaí bunscolaíochta, rinne sé an ráiteas seo:

> *"I congratulate Donegal on the proud position it occupies in the Irish Revival and I may be allowed to express the hope that other places may initiate the good example it has set by introducing the Bilingual-Programme into so many National schools".*[15]

Thug an scríobhneoir Séamas Ó Grianna as Rann na Feirste aitheantas don Dr. Ó Domhnaill as an cheannródaíocht a thug sé:

> *"It {the bilingual programme in the Gaeltacht} is due primarily to Dr. O'Donnell, Bishop of Raphoe. He realised the absurdity of teaching children in a language they did not understand. At conferences in Maynooth he got the other bishops whose dioceses embraced Gaeltacht districts to consider it. Finally, they approached the Board of Education and got sanction for the bilingual programme".*[16]

Nuair a bhí an Sagart Mac an tSaoir ón Fhál Carrach ag tabhairt fianaise do Choimisiún na Gaeltachta sa bhliain 1925, dúirt sé go raibh dearcú iontach folláin ag sagairt na Gaeltachta i leith na teanga. Thug sé moladh fosta do na múinteoirí agus dúirt sé gur cainteoirí dúchais an mhórchuid acu agus go raibh siad dílís do labhairt na teanga. Le fiche bliain roimhe sin dúirt sé gur bhain na sagairt paróiste úsáid as an teanga ina dteagmháil le daoine agus fosta ina gcuid seanmóirí. Arís, fuair an tEasbag Ó Domhnaill tuilleadh molta:

'As in the case of his predecessors, the present Bishop of Raphoe, both by precept and example, urges the use of Irish whenever possible. Fully ninety per cent of the Raphoe Diocesan clergy are either native speakers or have acquired a fair conversational knowledge of the language".[17]

Dúirt sé fosta go dtug an chléir agus muinteoirí tacaíocht do ranganna Chonradh na Gaeilge ar fud na Gaeltachta, agus go raibh tuismitheoirí, sagairt agus múinteoirí den dearcú go raibh an clár dá-theangach fóirsteanach do riachtanaisí na bpáistí.

Ach in ainneoin an ráitéis sin, tá fianaise ann go raibh tuismitheoirí a chur i gcoinne an chláir. I nDeireadh Fómhar 1911, thug Áine Ní Fhaircheallaigh tuairisc do Choiste Oideachais Chonradh na Gaeilge, go raibh tuismitheoirí páistí a bhí ag freastáil ar Scoil Thráigh Éanach, ag coinneáil a gcuid páistí ar shiúl ón scoil mar go raibh siad i gcoinne teagaisc trí mheán na Gaeilge.[18]

Cé go bhfuil sé deacair eolais cruinn a bheith again an raibh morán tuismitheoirí den dearcú sin, is docha gur mionlach a bhí iontu. Nuair a fhéachaimid ar thuairiscí na gcigirí do scoileanna Dhún na nGall ón bhliain 1911 ar aghaidh, bhí na daoine sásta leis an dul 'un cinn sna scoileanna dá-theangacha.

Tá sé suimiúil go raibh riail ag an Bhord Náisiúnta ón bhliain 1906 ar aghaidh go gcaithfeadh múinteoirí a cheapfaí i scoileanna Gaeltachta, cáilíocht dá-theangach a bheith acu. Tháinig an cheist seo 'un cinn nuair a táirgeadh post do mhúinteoir i Scoil Náisiúnta an tSealgáin in aice le Baile na Finne sa bhliain 1911. Cé gur cainteoir dúchais a bhí ceaptha sa phost, b'éigean don mhúinteoir freastail ar Choláiste Gaeilge an samhradh sin, leis an chailíocht a bhaint amach.

Níor mhaith leis an Bhord Náisiúnta an clár dá-theangach a bheith a mhúineadh i scoileanna inár cheap siad nach raibh na múinteoirí cáilithe lena theagasc. Ar an 27ú Meitheamh 1907, scríobh an Sagart C. Ó Cuinnegáin, Na Doirí Beaga, litir chuig an Bhord Náisiúnta ag iarraidh orthu an clár dá-theangach a cheadú i Scoil Náisiúnta Ghabhla agus i Scoil Náisiúnta Inis Meáin.[19] Ba cainteoirí dúchais iad na múinteoirí a bhí sa dá scoil seo, ach ní raibh teastas i dteagasc na Gaeilge ach ag duine amháin acu, agus ba sin an múinteoir i Scoil Ghabhla.

Thug Cigire an Bhoird, An tUasal R. J. Little cuairt ar an cheantar i Meitheamh 1907 agus mhol sé go gcuirfidh an clár i bhfeidhm i nGabhla. Ba seo a leanas mar a scríobh sé faoi Scoil Inis Meáin:

"In the case of Inismean, however, I am not satisfied that the teacher is

competent to take up bilingual instruction… I therefore respectfully recommend that he be not allowed to adopt the Bilingual Programme."[20]

Ansin cuireadh tuairisc an chigire in iúl don bhainisteoir agus níor ceadaíodh an clár in Inis Meáin.

Ón mbliain 1906 ar aghaidh bhí riail faoi leith ag an Bhord i gcás oileáin a bhí suite píosa fada as tír-mór. Bhí cead acu múinteoirí nach raibh cáilithe a cheapadh. Sa bhliain 1912, ceapadh bean den ainm Nic Suibhne, nach raibh cáilíocht múinteoireachta aici, mar Phríomh Oide ar Oileán Thoraigh. Ba post sealadach a bhí ann. Nuair a thug an Cigire W. Kane cuairt ar an Oileán ar an 14ú de Mhárta 1912, fuair sé amach go raibh sí ar bheagán Gaeilge agus nár úsáid sí Gaeilge ar bith sa rang.[21]

Bhí sé den bharúil nach raibh seo maith go leor. Bhí thart fá 30 scoláire ag freastáil ar an scoil agus b'éigean do bhainisteoir na scoile múinteoir eile a cheapadh le cáilíocht dá-theangach. D'iarr an cigire go gcoinneofaí an chead mhúinteoir sa scoil fosta ar na fáthanna seo leanas:

"The island is wild and lonely. Last winter the inhabitants ran short of bread and any means of light in the evening except firelight. Communication with the mainland is suspended for two or three weeks at a time".[22]

Mar go raibh Thoraigh chomh h-iargúlta sin, shíl an bainisteoir nach mbéadh ar a chumas múinteoir eile a fháil, ach b'éigean do cloí le moladh an Bhoird.

Bhí na cigirí fosta ag dréim le caighdeán áirithe agus ar an 23ú Feabhra 1910, thug Robert J. Little cuairt ar scoil An Dhubhach Bhig i bhFánaid agus dúirt sé go raibh barraíocht aistriúchán a n-úsáid i nGaeilge labhartha agus scríofa agus gurbh é an aidhm a ba cheart a bheith ag na múinteoirí ná traenáil a chur ar fáil dó na páistí tré gach teanga a úsáid mar a dúirt sé:

"As an independent instrument of thought and speech".[23]

I gcás taighde a rinne mac-léinn ó Ollscoil Bhaile Átha Cliath darbh ainm Bernard Fitzpatrick i gceantar Ghort a Choirce i mí Iúil 1913 agus mí Lúnasa 1916, thug sé faoi ndeara nach raibh Béarla ar bith ag na scoláirí nuair a chuaigh siad na scoile. Fiú amháin na páistí a bhí i rang a trí, nuair a chuirtí ceist orthu i mBéarla, chromadh siad a gceann agus dfhanadh siad ina dtost.[24]

I measc na rudaí eile a ndéana Fitzpatrick cur síos orthu na caighdeán na múinteoireachta agus an dóigh a n-eagraíodh siad a lá-oibre. Shíl sé go raibh aistí

a scríobh sna h-ard-ranganna i mBéarla a bhí ar chomh-chéim le cinn a scríobhadh i scoileanna tuaithe a bhí aon-theangach.[25]

De thairbhe go raibh an clár dá-theangach ar a bhonnaí anois tháinig rud suim-iúil 'un cinn i gCondae na Gaillimhe agus i gCondae Dhún na nGall agus ba é sin ná gur bunaíodh Cumann do Mhúinteoirí Dá-theangacha i nGaillimh sa bhliain 1908 agus i nDún na nGall sa bhliain 1909. Ba é an sprioc a bhí ag an Chumann seo ná feabhas a chur ar chumas teagaisc na múinteoirí i gceantracha a raibh an Ghaeilge líofa iontu. Bunaíodh Cumann Chondae Dhún na nGall ar an Chraoslach ar an 31ú Iúil 1909 agus ba mar seo a leanas a rinne an Irish School Weekly tuairisciú ar an ócáid:

> *"The feeling of isolation that existed amongst the individual bilingual teachers before its advent has departed altogether and in its stead one finds that consciousness of strength and that determination to overcome obstacles which the individual invariably derives from contact with others working towards the same object as himself."*[26]

Bhíodh cruinnithe ag na Cumainn seo ar siúl ar bhonn rialta agus dhéanadh siad caibidil ar gnéithe faoi leith den teagasc dá-theangach.

Mar go raibh Coláistí Gaeilge bunaithe i gCondae Dhún na nGall, bhí áit ag na múinteoirí le cruinnithe a bheith acu. Deir Fitzpatrick go raibh an teagasc i gColáiste Uladh i nGort a Choirce neamh-ghnáthach sa mhéid gur cuireadh béim daingean ar na modhanna múinte don dá-theangachas.[27]

Ba ghnáth le scríobhneoirí –móra na Gaeilge cuairt a thabhairt ar na Coláistí agus thug seo spreagadh do múinteoirí agus mhuscail sé a suim sa chlár dá-theangach agus i múineadh na Gaeilge. Seo mar a chuir Nollaig MacCongáil síos ar na cúrsaí seo:

> "*Ní raibh na Coláistí samhraidh i nDún na nGall gan a dtábhacht sa cheist seo ach oiread… Bhí dlúthbhaint ag cuid mhaith do na scríobhneoirí Conallacha leis na coláistí sin; i dtús ama, le Coláiste Uladh, Cloch Cheann Fhaolaidh, agus ina dhiaidh sin le Coláiste Bhríde, Rann na Feirste. Bhí coláiste eile ann, mar atá, Ollscoil Uladh ar an Chlochán Liath nach gcluintear aon iomrá air ach a bhfuil tábhacht leis sa chomhthéacs seo ó tharla go raibh baint ag Máire, Seosamh Mac Grianna agus Fionn Mac Cumhaill leis*".[28]

Tionaladh cruinniú in Ailt a Chorráin ar an 23ú lá de Shamhain 1909 agus rinne 25 múinteoir as an cheantar freastáil air. Dúradh ag an chruinniú nach raibh scoláirí ag freastáil chomh rialta agus a ba cheart díofa agus d'aontaigh siad uilig

ar an phoinnte seo leanas:

> *"In many districts the parents had not discernment enough to see the great advantages of the bilingual system, with the result that they took more interest in the English than in the Irish side of their childrens' education. The influence of the clergy is much needed to combat this wrong idea"*.[29]

Ach thar an iomlán, bhí an Bord sásta le mar a d'éirigh leis an chlár i nDún na nGall ó 1910 ar aghaidh. Dúirt Conradh na Gaeilge an bhliain roimhe sin nach dtiocfadh a bheith ag dréim le mórán níos mó ón chlár dá-theangach sa chondae.[30]

Ar an 8ú lá de Dheireadh Fómhair 1910, tháinig an tuairisc amach go raibh scrúdaitheoirí iontach sásta le torthaí scrúdaithe na scoileanna dá-theangacha i nGaoth Dobhair agus i nCloch Cheann Fhaolaidh a chur isteach ar dhuaiseanna Mhic Easmuinn.[31]

I measc na n-imeachtaí uilig a bhí ar siúl ag an Chumann, bhí sé tuairiscithe go dtug Tadhg MacPháidín, O.S. ó na Gleanntaí, leacht ar theagasc dá-theangach i gColáiste Uladh, Cloch Cheann Fhaoilaidh. Lean an seort seo gníomhaíochta ar aghaidh i rith na ndeich mbliana ina dhiaidh seo agus dfhás Cumann Náisiúnta Dá-Theangachais amach as an spreagadh a thug muintir Dhún na nGall agus muintir na Gaillimhe nuair a bhunaigh siad a gcumainn fhéin. Is fíor a rá mar sin go dtug múinteoirí Dhún na nGall ceannrodaíocht i gcur chun cinn an oideachais dá-theangach. Níl amhras ar bith ná gur éirí go maith sin leis an chlár dá-theangach i nDún na nGall agus a bhuíochas sin ag gabháil don dea-thoil agus an comh-oibriú a bhí idir múinteoirí agus bainisteoirí 'sna scoileanna, agus an spreagadh agus tacaíocht a fuair siad ón Easbaig Pádraig Ó Domhnaill.

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1 Minutes of the Meetings of the Commissioners of National Education: 1904, p. 100.

2 *Report of the Department of Education for the school year 1924 – '25, and the Financial and Administrative Year 1924 – 25 – 26*, Dublin: Stationery Office, 1926, p.29.

3 Thomas J. McElligott, *Education in Ireland, Dublin*: Institute of Public Administration, 1966, p. 15.

4 John Coolahan, *Irish Education: History and Structure*, Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1981, p. 36.

5 *Appendix to the Seventy Third Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland for 1906 – '07*, Section 2. (Ed. 3884) "Rules and Regulations of the Commissioners of National Education In Ireland", pp 718-720.

6 Ibid.

7 *An Claideamh Soluis*, 13 Feabhra 1909.

8 Idid., 8 Eanair 1910.

9 *Derry Journal*, 3 August 1906.

10 *Appendix to the Seventy-Fourth Report of the C.N.E.I. for 1907 – 08*, p. 258.

11 Tá na dátaí seo tugtha ó Mhiontuairiscí na gCoimisinéirí an Oideachais Náisiúnta 1900 – 1921 do na blianta atá i gceist.

12 National Archives, Education 9, File 22049.

13 *Seventy-Seventh Report of the C.N.E.I. for 1910 – 11* (Cd.5903) H.C. 1911. XX1, p. 269.

14 *Freeman's Journal*, 1 July 1909.

15 *Donegal Vindicator*, 3 September 1909.

16 *Sliocht as Aiste le Máire i gCnuasach Shéamais Uí Ghrianna*, Leabharlann James Hardiman, Ollscoil na hÉireann, Gaillimh. Feic fosta alt a scríobh Nollaig Mac Congáil "An Crann : Chun Glóire Dé agus Onóra na hÉireann" i *Meascra Uladh 111*.

17 *Coimisiún na Gaeltachta Report*, Mion-tuairiscí ar agallamh leis an tSagart Seán Mac an tSaoir ón Fhál Carrach ar 1ú Iúil 1925 i mBaile Átha Cliath.

18 Leabharlann Náisiúnta, Conradh na Gaeilge MS. 9798, Miontuairiscí Choiste Oideachais Chonradh na Gaeilge, Cruinniú 6 Deireadh Fómhair 1911.

19 National Archives, National School Records, Ed. 9, File 22669.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid., File 25932

22 Ibid., File 25932.

23 Ibid.

24 Bernard Fitzpatrick, *Bilingualism as a factor in education, with application to the language question in Ireland*. (Unpublished MA thesis, University College Dublin 1918) p. 33.

25 Ibid.

26 *Irish School Weekly*, 31 July 1909, p. 743.

27 Bernard Fitzpatrick, *Bilingualism as a factor in education, with application* to *the language question in Ireland*, p. 33.

28 Nollaig Mac Congáil, *Scríobhneoirí Thír Chonaill*, Baile Átha Cliath : Foilseacháin Náisiúnta Teoranta, 1983, p. 40 agus 41

29 *Irish School Weekly*, 10 December 1909, p. 573.

30 *Donegal Vindicator*, 3 September 1909.

31 *Irish School Weekly*, 8 October 1910.

An Dr. Pádraig Ó Baoighill

As Baile na Finne dó ó dhúchas. Tá sé anois ina Shéiplíneach i bPobal Scoil Ghaoth Dobhair.

DONEGAL STUDIES 2005

Eileen Burgess, County Librarian

A list of books and journal articles by Donegal authors, or about Donegal subjects and persons, which were published/became available 1.1.2005 to 31.12.2005.

Religion / Ecclesiastical History ~ Reiligiún / Stair Eaglasta
CROSSAN, John Dominic
A long way from Tipperary: a memoir
New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 2000.
204p. ISBN: 0060699744 €20

Society ~ Comhphobal
MULHOLLAND, Joe (ed.)
Why not?: Building a better Ireland: 30 leading Irish thinkers
[s.l.]:Joe Mulholland, 2003. 169p.
ISBN: 0952719886 €10

Politics ~ Polaitíocht
HARTE, Paddy
Young tigers and mongrel foxes: a life in politics
Dublin: O'Brien, 2005. 360p.
086278865X €24.95

MULHOLLAND, Joe (ed.)
Political choice and democratic freedom in Ireland:
40 leading Irish thinkers
[s.l.]: Joe Mulholland, 2004. 291p.
ISBN: 0952719894 €15

Law ~ Dlí
Report of the Tribunal of Inquiry set up pursuant to the Tribunal of Inquiry (Evidence) Acts 1921 – 2002 into certain Gardaí in the Donegal Division.
Dublin: Government of Ireland, 2005.
667p., maps.
[Report of the Morris Tribunal]

DOHERTY, Richard
The Thin green line: the history of the Royal Ulster Constabulary G C 1922-2001
Yorkshire: Pen & Sword, 2005. 310p.
1844150585 €38
[includes Donegal members]

Mc GLINCHEY, Karen
Charades: Adrienne McGlinchey and the Donegal Gardaí
Dublin: Gill & MacMillan, 2005. 256p.
0717139255 €10.99

Public Administration / Public Works ~ Riarachán Poiblí / Oibrithe Poiblí
BREATHNACH, Ciara
The Congested Districts Board of Ireland, 1891-1923: poverty and

development in the west of Ireland
Dublin:Four Courts, 2005. 176p.,ill.
1851829199 €45

KIERAN, Tony and McDonagh, Joe
Electronic government and public service modernisation: connected thinking and disjointed action
In Administration, Vol.53, No.3, 2005. pp103-13.

Education ~ Oideachas

BUCHANAN, Sandra (ed.)
Coiste Gairmoideachais Chontae Dhún na nGall = County Donegal Vocational Education committee 1905 -2005
Letterkenny: Co Donegal VEC, 2005. 119p., ill. 0955157501

CONAGHAN, Goldie
St. Mary's College, Killybegs
In Dearcadh: *The Ardara view*, 2005-2006, pp139-41.

HSE North Western Area
The Guide: an ultimate school journal. 2005. 116p.
[co-ordinated by Community Creations, Ballyshannon, by young people for young people]

McFADDEN, Martin (ed.)
School magazine: Loreto Community Schoool, Milford 2004 – 2005
155p., photos.

SCHOOLS REUNION COMMITTEE
Schools of yesteryear: memories of the rural schools of Donegal Town: Barnesmore, Clar, Copany, Drumnahoul, Leghowney, Lough Eske, Townawilly, Tullynaught
215p., ill.
Donegal: Rural Schools Reunion Committee, 2005 €10

Transport & Communications ~ Iompar & Cumarsáidí

Mac AONGHUSA, Brian
Broken rails: crashes and sabotage on Irish railways
Dublin: Currach, 2005. 256p.
1856079252 €19.99

MALLON, Moira
Killybegs Harbour
In Dearcadh: *The Ardara view*, 2005-2006, pp154-57.

Folklore / Folklife ~ Béaloideas

Ó BAOIGHILL, Pádraig
Faoi Scáth na Mucaise
In An tUltach, Iml.81, Uimh 6, Meitheamh 2005, p. 16-18.

Ó BAOIGHILL, Pádraig (éag.)
Faoi Scáth na Mucaise: Béaloideas Ghaeltachtaí imeallacha Thír Chonaill
BÁC: Coiscéim, 2005. €10

Gaeilge/Gaeltacht

DUNBAR, Ciarán
An Focal 'caoi' I nGaeilge Chúige Uladh
In An tUltach, Iml.81, Uimh 8, Lúnasa 2005, p.7-8.

Mac GRIANNA, Domhnall
I nGaeltacht Thír Chonaill
In An tUltach, Iml 81, Uimh 12, Nollaig 2005, pp17-19.

Ua CEARNAIGH, Seán
Fear na trucaile Gaelaí – Niall Mac Giolla Bhríde agus saol fada a chaith sé ar son na Gaeilge
In An tUltach, Iml.81, Uimh 7, Iuil 2005, p.7-8.

WALSH, John, McCarron, Stephen and Ní Bhrádaigh, Emer
Mapping the Gaeltacht: towards a geographical definition of the Irish-speaking districts
In Administration, Vol 53, No 1 (2005), pp 16-37
[Article includes Donegal Gaeltacht]

Science & Technology ~ Eolaíocht & Teicneolaíocht

KELLY, Michael J.
Did Einstein get it wrong?
Crewe: Trafford, 2005. 97p.
1412029015

Health & Welfare ~ Sláinte & Leas

LIFFORD/CASTLEFINN Primary Care Project
A Model for community participation in primary care
[Lifford-Clonleigh Resource Centre & Health Service Executive], 2004. 56p.

NORTH-WESTERN HEALTH BOARD
Financial statement & service plan 2004
[s.l].: NWHB, 2005. 229p.

Art and Architecture ~ Ealaíon agus Ailtireacht

CARTOON with Jarla
Letterkenny: Adrian Mitchell Society, s.d.
Vol.1, 28p
[Drawing and colouring book sold in aid of the Adrian Mitchell Society, a Sub Committee of Donegal Hospice]

O'KANE, Marianne
RHA Award winners 2005
In Irish Arts Review, Vol 22, Summer 2005, pp 62-5

O'KANE, Marianne
Tableau vivant
In Irish Arts Review, Vol.22, No. 4, Winter 2005. pp80-3.
[Article traces the work of Deborah Brown]

PYLE, Hilary
Deborah Brown: from painting to sculpture
Dublin: Four Courts, 2005. 120p., ill.
1851829709

SHEEHAN, Declan
Letterkenny: Caroline McCarthy: WindoWall
In Circa, 112, Summer 2005, pp72-3
[Review of Public Art Project]

Music ~ Ceol

DOHERTY, Liz
Dinny McLaughlin: from barefoot days: a life of music, song and dance in Inishowen
Letterkenny: Druid, 2005
0953652548 €25

McEVOY, Gerry, with CHRISP, Pete
Riding shotgun: 35 years on the road with Rory Gallagher and Nine Below Zero
SPG Triumph, 2005. 352p.
0955032016 £12.99

O'DONNELL, Daniel, with Rowley, Eddie
Daniel O'Donnell: my story 2005
0753509784 €7.95

Ó hEARCÁIN, Marius (ed.)
It's us they're talking about: big nights and bygone days: traditions of music song and dance
[s.l.:s.n.], [2005]. Issue 7. 76p., ill.

Sport ~ Spóirt
CUNNINGHAM, John B
Pettigo … up against it!: a history of Pettigo G.A.A.
[s.l.: The Author], [2005]. 212p., ill.

GRIMASON, Darryl
Reading the water: a life spent fishing
Dublin: O'Brien, 2005. 220p.
0962789141 €19.95
[includes account in Donegal. Book has illustrations by Tim Stampton]

Ó BAOIGHILL, Pádraig
'Iontaobhas Chormaic Cuid II'
In An tUltach, Iml. 81, Uimh.1, Eanáir 2005. pp11 –13.

Ó BAOIGHILL, Pádraig
Niall Mac Aoidh: peileadóir mór Chloich Cheann Fhaolaidh
In An tUltach, Iml. 81, Uimh.3, Márta 2005. pp90-1.

Ó DÓNAILL, Charlie (eag.)
Comórtas Peile na Gaeltachta 2004 4-7 Meitheamh
[s.l.]: CLG Chill Chartha, 2004. 204p., ill. €5

Ó GALLCHÓIR, An tAth Seán
The Book of Donegal G.A.A. facts: torthaí peile, iomána agus camógaíochta Dhún na nGall 1919 - 2004
[Letterkenny: The Author], 2005.
eag. 140p., ill.
ISBN: 0954280628 €8

Outdoor Life ~ 'Amuigh Faoin Spéir'
BELL, Jonathan
Ulster farming families 1930-1960
Belfast:Ulster Historical Foundation, 2005. 144p.,ill.
190368854X €15

CARROLL, Mary
Women drive tractors too: 18 true stories of Irish women in agriculture
Drogheda: Choice, 2005. 117p.
1905451032 €10
[features two Donegal farmers]

FULLER, Janice
The ABC of trees, hedgerows and development
[s.l.]:Crann, 2005. 28p., ill.
0954929314 €5
[edited by Steven Meyen]

MEYEN, Steven
The ABC of planting trees
[s.l.]: Crann, 2004. 28p., ill.
0954929306 €5

O'TOOLE, Lorcan
Golden eagles breed again in the hills of Donegal
In Heritage Outlook, Winter 2005/Spring 2006. pp.27-31

Litríocht agus Léirmheastóireacht
Mac AMHLAIGH, Liam

Seosamh Mac Grianna agus *Mo bhealach féin*
In An tUltach, Iml.81, Uimh. 9, Meán Fómhair 2005. pp7 – 10.

Mac Congáil, Nollaig
'The Echo agus scríbhneorí Dhún na nGall Cuid III'
In An tUltach, Iml. 81, Uimh. 1, Eanáir 2005. pp5 – 10.

Mac CORRAIDH, Seán
Seosamh Mac Grianna: aistritheoir
BÁC Clóchomhar, 2004.
090375861X €12

Filíocht
FITZMAURICE, Gabriel
Poems from the Irish: collected translations
Cork: Marino, 2004. 192p.
186023156X €12.95
[large part of the book devoted to the work of Cathal Ó' Searcaigh]

Ní GHALLCHÓIR, Colette
Na Síoga i lag na haltóra
BAC: Coiscéim, 2005 €7.50

Ó' SEARCAIGH, Cathal
Na hAingle ó Xanadú
BÁC: Arlen, 2005.
1903631807 €10

Ó' SEARCAIGH, Cathal
By the Hearth in Mín a' Leá
Lancs: Arc, 2005. 180p.
1904614213 £10.95

Ó' SEARCAIGH, Cathal
Cúig dánta
In Irish Pages, Vol.3, No.1, Spring/Summer 2005. pp33-40.
[Cathal Ó' Searcaigh is the Irish Language editor of this journal of contemporary writing]

Uí CHALLCHÓIR, Áine John
Meascán Mearaí
Doirí Beaga: Ionad na hOllscoile Gaoth Dobhair, 2004. 56p. €6

Urscéalta
LYONS, Denis
An Bealach go Dún Ulun
Kilcar: The Author, 2004.

Mac GIOLLA BHRÍDE, Eoghan
Díbheartaigh
BÁC: Coiscéim, 2005. €5

Mac LOCHLAINN, Antain
Ruball an éin
Indreabhán: Cló Iar-Chonnachta, 2005.
80p.1902420993 €10
[the author completes the 1935 Seosamh Mac Grianna novel Dá mbíodh ruball ar an éan]

Litríocht don aos óg
Mac GIOLLA BHRÍDE, Eoghan (eag.)
An Ghaoth aduaidh
BÁC: Coiscéim, 2005. €5
[collection of short stories by young Donegal writers]

Ó BAOIGHILL, Padraig
Gasúr beag Bhaile na gCreach Leitir Ceanainn: Séamus de Faoite, 2004.

Literature and Literary Criticism
BOYLE, Maureen
'The Absurdities of an empire in decline'

In Fortnight, No 434, March 2005. pp 28-9.
[Review of Brian Friel's play *The Home Place*]

CRAIG, Patricia
From The Rannafast summer
In Irish Pages, Vol.3, No.1, Spring/Summer 2005. pp100-52.

FITZPATRICK, Lisa
Disrupting metanarratives: Anne Devlin, Christina Reid, Marina Carr, and the Irish Dramatic Repertory
In Irish University Review, Vol. 35, No. 2, Autumn/Winter 2005, pp320-33

LOJEK, Helen
Contexts for Frank McGuinness's drama
U.S.: Catholic University of America, 2004. 284p.
0813213568 £53.50

MEEHAN, Helen
Cahir Healy: his literary career
In Spark, Issue 18, Summer 2005, pp 15-9.

Ó CLÉIRIGH, Nellie
Life in the Rosses, Co. Donegal, in the 1890s
In History Ireland, Vol.13, No.2, March/April 2005. pp8-9.
[Review of Brian Friel's play *The Home Place*]

Poetry
BUCKLEY, Seán
River music: a collection of poems
Glencolumbcille:Penumbra, 2005
0954126513 €10

DOHERTY, Patricia C
Rhyming facts & fiction
[s.n.:s.l, s.d.]. 107p.

ERRIGAL WRITERS & guest poets
Brass on bronze
Letterkenny: Errigal Press, 2005. 78p.
ISBN: 0953685810

McMENAMIN, Paul
All around Bruckless Bay
2005

SMEATON, Brian
Needle and knife: adventures in Letterkenny General Hospital
[s.l.]: The Author, 2005. 28p. €3

Drama
FRIEL, Brian
The Home place
Oldcastle: Gallery, 2005. 80p.
1852353805 €11.50

FRIEL, Brian
Performances
Oldcastle: Gallery, 2003. 48p.
1852353546 €8.90

Fiction
BENNETT, Anne
Daughter of mine
London: HarperCollins, 2005.
0007177240 £5.99
[book opens in Rossnowlagh]

BOLGER, Dermot
The Family at Paradise Pier
London: Fourth Estate, 2005. 560p.
0007154097

CURRAN, Miki
Wheels of destiny
[s.l.]: Cornfield, 2005. 465p
[Novel set in the 1800s, inspired by finding a bundle of papers including information on the clash between Lord Hamilton and his Gweedore tenants]

HAYDEN, Jago
Crime pussionelle and other stories
Black Lion, 2005. 107p.
0953937232 €8.50

WARD, Brid
The Making of Bridget Flanigan
Cheshire: Trafford, 2004. 258p.
ISBN: 141203356X

Children's literature ~ Litríocht don aos óg
PARKINSON, Siobhán
Second fiddle or How to tell a black-bird from a sausage
London: Penguin, 2005. 191p.
0141318805 £4.99

Archaeology ~ Seandálaíocht
COYNE, Frank & COLLINS, Tracy
Excavation of a post-medieval settlement at Rough Point, Killybegs, County Donegal
Limerick: Aegis Archaeology, 2004. 62p., ill.
0954176510

FINNERTY, Tony
The Kilclooney More dolmen
In *Dearcadh*: *The Ardara view*, 2005-2006, pp142-44.

GALLAGHER, Joseph
The Beltany Stone Circle
In Heritage Outlook, Winter 2005/Spring 2006. p3.
[Account of the *Beltany*:*Rediscovering an ancient landscape* conference in October 2005]

Biography and Autobiography ~ Beathaisnéis agus Dírbeathaisnéis
MacIntyre, Darragh
Conversations: glimpses of modern Irish life
Dublin, Gill & Macmillan, 2005.
0717137856 €24.99

McDAID, Packie
The Black diaries of a barman in Glasgow and New York
2005

Mac GOWAN, Michael
The Hard road to Klondike (Rotha mór an tsaoil)
Cork: Collins,2005. Reissue. 164p.
1903464358 €12.95

MELLY, Colm
Brighter days in Donegal: a memoir
[Donegal: The Author], 2005. 208p., ill.

PETRO, Pamela
The Slow breath of stone
London: Fourth Estate, 2005. 287p. £20
[Re Kinglsey Porter family, associated with Glenveagh]

Family History / Genealogy ~ Stair Chlainne / Ginealas
HUTCHINSON, Brian W (ed.)
Descendants of John McCain from Stranorlar Parish, Co. Donegal, Ireland : migrations to British North America and throughout Ireland (c.1760 – 2004)

British Columbia: GEN-FIND, 2005.
600p., ill.
ISBN: 0973666307 $100

MEEHAN, Helen
The Nesbitts of Kilmacredon
In *Dearcadh*: *The Ardara view*,
2005-2006, pp139-41.

WHITTON, K E
An Irish family history
[6 separate volumes in slipcase as follows: (1) Early Harts, (2) Harts of Kilderry, (3) Harts of Glenalla, (4) Allmans, (5) Hamiltons and Garstins, (6) Youngs of Culdaff].
Limited edition privately printed, 2003.

Local History/ Topography ~Stair Áitiúla/ Dinnseanchas / Logainmnaíocht

ATLANTIC VIEW CDP with the assistance of Silverhill Womens Group
A Day in the life of Bundoran
2005. 136p., ill. €10
[a pictorial record of people and places in Bundoran on 21st June 2005]

ATLANTIC VIEW CDP with the assistance of VEC Youthreach South West
A Day in the life of Ballyshannon
2004. 136p., ill. €10
[a pictorial record of people and places in Ballyshannon on 21st June 2004]

BONAR, Margaret
The Gweedore estate of Lord George Hill
In Irish Family History, Vol. 21, 2005. pp109-14.

BYRNE, Don
"The Muirlinn", Ardara
In *Dearcadh*: *The Ardara view*,
2005-2006, pp129-30.

The CREESLOUGH view 2006
[s.l.:s.n.], [2005]. 5th ed. 97p., ill. €7

CUNNINGHAM, John
Tales from the banks of the Erne
Dublin: Nonsuch, 2005. 95p., ill.
1845885171 £11.49

DEARCADH: the Ardara View
2005 – 2006

JOYCE, Stephen
Golden days in Donegal
Moville: InishScot, 2005. 125p.,ill.
0955070309

Mac GIOLLA CHÓILL, Dónal
Aniar aduaidh: scéilíní ó Ghaeltacht Thír Chonaill
In An tUltach, Iml 81, Uimh 11, Samhain 2005. p5.
[memories of the Williams family in Mín an Chladaigh]

MEEHAN, Helen
Inver Parish in history
Donegal: The Author, 2005. 728p., ill.
0955175100 €25

O'DONNELL, Peadar
Islanders
Cork: Mercier, 2005.
1856354725 €9.99

Ó MAOLFABHAIL, Art
Ó Lyon go Dún Lúiche: logainmneacha san oidhreacht

Cheilteach
Clódhanna Teo, 2005. €10

SVEINSSON, Einar Ólafur
Camchuairt ar Éirinn = Ferapættir frá Írlandi = Impressions of Ireland
Dublin: Four Masters, 2005. 124p., ill.
1903538106 €19.50
[recollections of an Icelandic scholar on a tour in Teelin, Glencolumbcille and the Bluestacks in 1947]

TAMHNACH an tSalainn = Mountcharles: a local history
Donegal: Mountcharles I.C.A. Guild, 2005. 20p., ill.

General history ~ Stair Ginearálta

McGETTIGAN, Darren
Red Hugh O'Donnell and the Nine Years War
Dublin: Four Courts, 2005. 192p.,ill.
1851828877 €45

McGINLEY, Niall
Donegal, Ireland & the First World War
Letterkenny: An Crann, 2005. 2nd ed. 396p., ill.

McGURK, John
Sir Henry Docwra, 1564-1631: Derry's second founder
Dublin: Four Courts, 2005. 272p.,ill.
1851829482 €55

McKENNY, Kevin
The Laggan army in Ireland, 1641-85: the landed interests, political ideologies and military campaigns of the north-west Ulster settlers
Dublin: Four Courts, 2005. ill.
185182751X €55

O'LOUGHLIN, Joe
Voices of the Donegal Corridor
Dublin: Nonsuch, 2005. 128p.
1845885260 €16.99
[stories of families who lost relatives in WWII air crashes]

PATTERSON, Brad (ed.)
Ulster-New Zealand migration and cultural transfers
Dublin: Four Courts, 2005. 256p.
1851829571 €55

Audio / Video ~ Closamhairc / Fís

CD - Music

BROWN, Helen
My Dream = Ó Bhrionglóid

DEERY, Liam
Samhain
2005

McNUTT, John
This place and time
2005

MONAGHAN, Brendan
The Road to Ballintra
2005

TOURISH, Ciaran
Down the line
2005

TOURISH, Martin
Clan Ranald
Claddagh, 2005

DVD

ANÁS agus anró gneithe de stair Ghaoth Dobhair
Comharchumann Forbartha Ghaoth

Dobhair, 2005. €5
[a history of Gaoth Dobhair from 1800-1900]

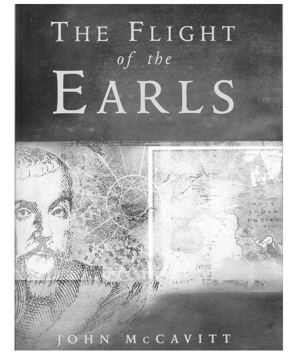
DOHERTY, Charlie (producer and director)
DONEGAL its people and places
GLENVEAGH heart of Donegal
An SAGART Mór
The THIRD Earl of Leitrim
TRAGEDY and triumph
[available previously in video format]

Every effort is made to create as comprehensive a bibliography as possible. However, given the extent of publishing in and relevant to the county, there may be occasional omissions. The author would be grateful for the assistance of readers in providing details of any 2005 publications not listed. These will then be included in the next bibliography. Details of 2006 publications would also be appreciated.

The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Ciara Cunnane, Assistant Librarian, and Bernie Campbell, Senior Library Assistant, in compiling this list.

BOOK REVIEWS

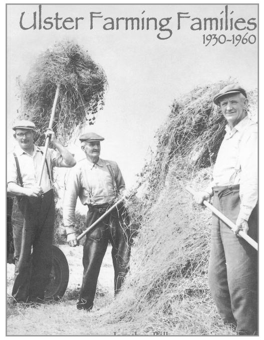
The Flight of the Earls, *John McCavitt, Gill and Macmillan, 2002. 277 pages*, 40 *euro.*
ISBN 0 7171 3047 9



Dr. McCavitt completed a doctorate at Queen's University in Belfast on the lord deputyship of Sir Arthur Chichester and wrote a book on the subject. This book developed from that research and will be avidly read as the events of 1607 are commemorated. The author states that the book is for the general reader and that is quite true in the sense that it is very easy to read. But it is of great value to the academic historian also in its analysis of the dramatic departure of the Earls and their followers. He establishes clearly the context for the apparently sudden departure of the Earls and carefully evaluates the impact of events such as the Nine Years War (1594-1603), the disaster at Kinsale in 1602 and the Treaty of Mellifont in 1603. He establishes that the Earls did not leave Ireland on a sudden impulse but that they had been conspiring to do so for a considerable period beforehand. They were guilty of treason on at least two counts and he uses research by Micheline Kerney Walsh to support the conspiracy theory. He describes in detail the arrival at Quilleboeuf in France and the frosty reception they received there. Henry IV of France, however, had a high regard for O'Neill and regarded him as "the third soldier of his age". The false hopes raised by O'Dohery's rebellion and the despair following his death in 1608 are given in some detail. The book concludes with the death of O'Neill in Rome in 1616.

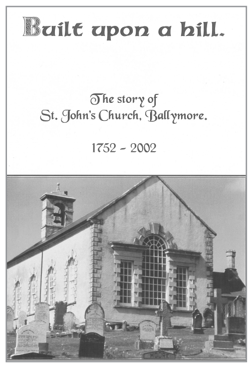
At all times, Dr. McCavitt keeps in touch with the human drama attached to the departure. His style of writing keeps the reader's interest in the story alive; this is an excellent analysis of a dramatic period in Irish history.

Ulster Farming Families, 1930-1960*, Jonathon Bell, Ulster Historical Foundation and Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, 2005, ISBN 1 903688 54 X; 144 pages. Price £9.99.*



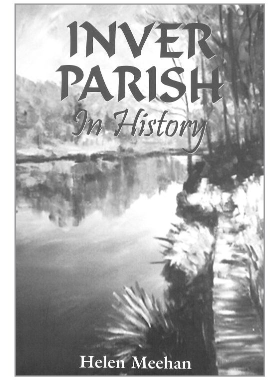
Dr. Bell is Head Curator at the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum and is well known for his writings on rural life. The book is based on field work of recent times and illustrates the effects of mechanisation on farm life following the World War 11. The stories of farm life come from all over Ulster, including Donegal. Hugh Ward of Keadew recalls the fish curing, "tattie hoking" and work in the Laggan. When Hugh first worked in fish curing in 1931, wages were six pence an hour for women and eight pence an hour for men. These were hard times but the fine collection of photographs record a happier side to rural life and add immensely to the flavour and enjoyment of this remarkable book. Jonathon Bell's contribution to the study of rural life since 1930 is another milestone in the recording of life in the countryside.

Built Upon a Hill, The Story of St. John's Church, Ballymore 1732-2002*,*
Brian Moriarty, 2004, 24 pages; Price 5 euro.



Brian Moriarty has compiled a warm and vivacious account of a church that celebrates two hundred and fifty years of history in the Sheephaven area. Two parishioners recall their personal memories, which include references to the Olpherts and the Laws. The book opens with memories of 1952, when horses did the farmwork and radio rather than television was the main source of news from the world outside. A fine chapter describes the progressive farm methods of the Stewarts of Ards but on the other hand, there are records of two hundred and fifty evictions on the estate. The main focus of the book is a chronicle of church activities from 1871, covering repairs, work schemes, fetes and daily activities. There is a fine collection of colour photos of churches, Ballymore School and the Rectory. The church is a landmark in the area and it is good to know that its history is now available for everyone to read. This book will be read with much pleasure by residents of Ballymore and also by non-residents; it is a brilliant record of a much-loved place of worship. Sources used include the Stewart-Bam papers in PRONI, Belfast and local records. Thanks to Brian for the research and for publishing the book on Ballymore church. All proceeds go to the church. Copies can be obtained from Mrs. Bertha Campbell, Cloonemore, Dunfanaghy Road, Creeslough, Co. Donegal. Postage 90 cent extra for addresses in Ireland; 1 euro 40 cent extra for England, Scotland and Wales.

Inver Parish in History, *Helen Meehan, published by Helen Meehan, Coolum House, Mountcharles, Co. Donegal; printed by Browne Printers, Ltd., Port Road, Letterkenny, Co.Donegal;*
ISBN –10 : 0-9551751-0-0; ISBN – 13: 978-0-9551751-0-7, 2005, 728 pages. Price 25 euro; postage 6 euro 50 cent extra for delivery in Ireland; 7 euro 50 cent for England, Scotland and Wales. Available by post from the author.



Helen Meehan has written a comprehensive history of Inver and district. It begins with an introduction to the south Donegal parish of Inver from earliest times and is divided into three sections as follows: *From the Dawn of History to the Twenty-first century, People and Places* with a final section *on Folklore and Folklife.* The Appendix includes a genealogical guide and a list of sources.

Helen taught for many years at Frosses National School and has had an interest in folklore, history and genealogy all her life. Readers of *Donegal Annual* will need little introduction to her writings; she has been one of the leading contributors and her articles range from accounts of the Montgomery family to studies of the villages of Inver parish.

This is a big book in every sense of the word. There are 728 pages and my first reaction when I saw this book was to express my wonder and awe at the depth, range and quality of her research. She has been burning the midnight oil and she deserves to be commended on undertaking such a mammoth task, which involved thorough and painstaking research over many years. I don't know of any parish in Ireland that has produced an opus of this calibre. The people of Inver and the wider community in Donegal are deeply indebted to her for her zeal and commitment in producing this remarkable study.

Her sources are rich and varied. She has spent many hours in the Folklore Department of UCD and in public libraries. Her personal contacts and family background have also been a great asset to her. The book is dedicated to her late father, Robert Montgomery; he was the person who nourished her love and enthusiasm for our heritage and history from an early age. This book is indeed the fulfilment of a lifelong dream.

It is impossible to do justice to this book in a short review. After an introduction to the geography and geology of the district, Helen explores the ancient monuments of the area followed by studies of the Christian period, the Plantation, the Williamite Wars and the advent of the landlords. We meet

members of the great landed families such as the Conynghams, the Montgomerys, the Murrays, the Nesbitts, the Sinclairs and the Stewarts. James Sinclair was an improving landlord who supported Catholic Emancipation.

In part two, Helen takes us through the parish on a personal tour highlighting the organisations, the people and the places she knows so well – the churches, the priests and rectors who ministered in them, the Select Vestry, the church societies, the Orange Order and the schools. Writers such as the McManus brothers and Ethna Carbery have a special place in her affections. There is a fine section too on local placenames.

Part three deals with folklore and folklife, a subject that is very close to her heart. There are detailed chapters on farm work, mills and millers, crafts, fishing, cures and offerings. Her chapter on festivals is beautifully and sensitively written. We all know that our customs and traditions are vanishing but it is good to know that in Inver parish some survive. Bonfires are still lit in many places on Bonfire Night in the traditional manner. Transport in days of old was far from comfortable but people probably believed that life had changed forever when Major Myles of Ballyshannon brought the first motor car into the district and the rattle of the train could be heard coming down the tracks.

As I came to the end of this remarkable book, I discovered a section entitled "Glossary". As a Donegal resident I thought I had nothing to learn here but I was wrong. I never heard of *bonecakes* but was pleasantly surprised to discover that they are oaten biscuits. Just as well! I still hear *brattles* of thunder but I would prefer to avoid the *durko* or water hound on a dark night.

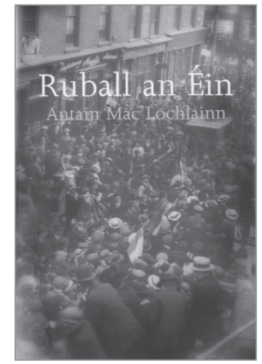
It is worth noting that she has devoted considerable attention to sources that are often ignored, such as the reports of the Congested Districts Board. Her chapter on Cottage Industries deals with a subject that has been neglected in writings on Donegal history. The pioneering work of two women, Mrs. Sinclair and Mrs. Hart in promoting the embroidery industry in the 1890s is fully acknowledged. Her description of "spriggin", the local name for embroidery, makes very interesting reading.

This book is not a mere history of Inver and district. It is a national treasure, a storehouse of our heritage and a milestone in the history of Donegal. We are indeed indebted to Helen for her painstaking work in publishing this outstanding work. It is a joy to read not once but many times. The photographs add a personal touch with a suggestion of local colour. The stunning cover painting is by Morgan Ferriter. There is an excellent index, something that is missing in many regional histories. The book will appeal not just to Donegal readers but to everyone interested in our history.

The Cult of St. Catherine of Alexandria, *Arthur Spears, in association with Donegal Historical Society, 15 euro (due to be published in 2006)*

The cult of St. Catherine was introduced into Ireland by the Normans; in the twelfth century, Henry the Second of England was one her followers. In Donegal, the saint had a following in Rathmullan, under the patronage of Máire Ní Mhaille, wife of Rory Mac Suibhne. The saint is venerated in Killybegs but she is also associated with other places in Ireland such as Dungarvan. In Meath St. in Dublin, in the heart of the Liberties, a church is dedicated to her. Arthur Spears has been researching the life of St. Catherine for many years. The book is illustrated with maps and photographs. The book is due for publication in 2006.

Ruball an Éin, *Antain Mac Lochlainn,*
Cló Iar-Chonnachta,
ISBN 1 902420 99 3
10 euro, Bog.



B'as Rann na Feirste i dTír Chonaill do Sheosamh Mac Grianna, duine de mhórscríbhneoirí na Gaeilge, agus sárscríbhneoir Gaeilge chúige Uladh. I 1935, in aois 35 bliain, chuir sé deireadh lena chuid oibre ar an leabhar ***Dá mBíodh Ruball ar an Éan***. B'in an saothar deireanach a chuir sé de, agus go gairid ina dhiaidh sin tháinig galar intinne air. Ní raibh críoch i ndán don úrscéal, agus cé gur mhair Mac Grianna go dtí go raibh sé 89 bliain d'aois, níor chuir sé peann le pár arís choíche. Is fada an t-úrscéal céanna ina ábhar díospóireachta ag lucht litríochta. Sa deireadh thiar thall, tá deireadh curtha ag Antain Mac Lochlainn leis an saothar seo le ***Ruball an Éin***.

Is mór an dúshlán é saothar scríbhneoir eile a chríochnú, go háirithe nuair is scríbhneoir de cháil Mhic Grianna atá i gceist. Níor theip ar Mhic Lochlainn, áfach. Tá stíl agus meon Mhic Grianna sealbhaithe aige le deireadh inchreidte, sásúil a chur leis an leabhar.

Is é a deir Antain: **"Bhí roinnt cúiseanna agam le deireadh a chur ar an leabhar. Bhí dúil as cuimse agam riamh i saothar Sheosaimh, cuir i gcás, agus is cineál de ghníomh ómóis a bhí ann. Cloch ar a charn, mar a déarfá. Ach chomh maith leis sin, shíl mé go dtiocfadh liom casadh a chur sa scéal agus béim a leagan ar an chomhcheilg pholaitiúil. Dar liom go bhfuil an-chosúlacht idir an pholaitíocht a raibh Seosamh i ngleic léi agus polaitíocht an lae inniu. Leoga, scéal faoin am i láthair atá ann, in ainneoin é a bheith suite le linn an Dara Cogadh Domhanda."**

Rugadh Seosamh Mac Grianna i 1900. Ar na leabhair leis tá ***An Druma Mór***, ***An Grá agus an Ghruaim*** agus ***Mo Bhealach Féin***. Cailleadh i 1990 é.

Tá sé ar fáil i siopaí leabhar ar fud na tíre, agus ó Chló Iar-Chonnachta www.cic.ie

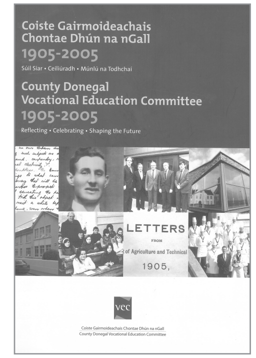
Antain Mac Lochlainn
As Cúil Raithin i nDoire d'Antain Mac Lochlainn. Chaith sé seal ina eagarthóir ar *Comhar* agus ina iriseoir le *Foinse*, agus tá sé ina chomheagarthóir ar an láithreán gréasáin www.acmhainn.ie faoi láthair. Tá roinnt leabhar neamhfhicsin foilsithe aige: *Cuir Gaeilge Air* (2001) agus *Focail le Gaois* (2002). Is gearrscéalaí é chomh maith. Bhuaigh ceann dá chuid scéalta, *Díol agus Ceannach*, duais i gcomórtas scríbhneoireachta Foinse, agus tá sé foilsithe sa leabhar ***Nuascéalta***, mar aon le saothair eile ón gcomórtas céanna. Sna Sceirí, i dtuaisceart Chontae Bhaile Átha Cliath, atá cónaí air.

RESEARCH

Patrick Cardinal O'Donnell, his role and influence in Irish society, with particular reference to Donegal, 1888-1927,
Pádraig Ó Baoighill, D. Phil thesis, University of Ulster, Jordanstown, 2003.

Cardinal O'Donnell was born in Kilraine in Inishkeel parish in 1856. In 1888, he became Bishop of Raphoe, the youngest Bishop in the Catholic Church at the time. He was appointed a member of the Congested Districts Board shortly after its establishment and remained on the Board until its dissolution. He served on several commissions such as the Royal Commission on Congestion and the Killanin Commission.
In his doctoral thesis undertaken at University of Ulster, Fr. Ó'Baoighill begins with a study of his early life and influences. Chapter 2 deals with the Plan of Campaign and the Land War. Chapter 3 is an examination of Ó'Donnell's role as a member of the Congested Districts Board. In the next chapter, he analyses his position on Home Rule and in Chapter 5, he presents a study of his attitude to partition and his influence on the Irish Parliamentary Party. Chapters 6 and 7 analyse his work in education at elementary, secondary and third-level. Finally, in Chapter 8, he investigates his attitude to the Irish language, in particular the question of compulsory Irish. The latter topic was the subject of an article by Fr.Ó'Baoighill in *Donegal Annual* last year.
Dr. Ó'Baoighill's thesis is an outstanding contribution to Donegal history; it highlights the profile of this distinguished churchman who was a prominent and influential figure in both church and state at a decisive time in Irish history.
Seán Beattie.

Co. Donegal Vocational Education Committee 1905-2005
Reflecting/Celebrating/ Shaping the Future,
Sandra Buchanan, 119 pages, ISBN 0-9551575-0-1
Available from Anthony Begley, Carrickboy, Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal. There is no charge for the book; orders by post cost 1 euro 50 cent for postage in Ireland and 3 euro 50 cent for postage to England, Scotland or Wales.



This book relates the incredible story of the pioneers of technical education who brought education out to the people, in the first decade of the 20th century, and charts the achievements of technical/ vocational education throughout County Donegal in the past one hundred years. A book which has been expertly researched, with excellent graphics and rare photographs it narrates, in a very readable style, the struggles and achievements to establish schools in less prosperous times than now. Imagine an educational scheme which set out in the early 1900's, as the Joint Committee for Technical Instruction, which was the forerunner of Co. Donegal Vocational Education Committee, and organised a service to provide educational opportunities for communities throughout the county. This was an example of the best partnership model between education providers and communities which is emphasised in today's educational systems as if it were a new innovation.

The early pioneers, who were called itinerant teachers, were engaged in partnership with communities to meet their educational needs and had no buildings, very limited resources but had a determined approach to serving peoples needs. The itinerant teachers transported their equipment to rented accommodation throughout the county and set up schools which in some ways were akin to hedge schools. After a period of months they packed up and moved on to other communities. Courses were provided in domestic economy, manual instruction, crochet, lace and any other course which could help people to be self sufficient. These early pioneers brought hope to communities and helped, in some small way, to stem the flow of emigration by giving people the means to gain employment in their own localities.

James O' Neill 1902-1949
The author narrates the exploits of the pioneers who helped to lay the foundation for the current successful VEC. I was especially impressed by James O Neill, a Larne man, who pioneered as an itinerant teacher in the county from about 1902 and retired from Co. Donegal VEC in 1949. In that time he served communities as an itinerant teacher and specialist craftsman for 12 years, moving from

community to community. He later became the first principal of a technical school in County Donegal in 1914 and, in true pioneering style, was appointed principal at the same time, of the first two schools opened in Ballyshannon and Letterkenny in 1914. Can you imagine the logistics of travelling between both schools? One of the major issues for workers in 2005 is the commuting time to work but can you visualise Mr. O' Neill and his teaching staff travelling to classes in both schools in 1914 on the County Donegal Railway? In 1930 James O'Neill became the first chief executive officer of County Donegal Vocational Education Committee. Every school has its pioneers many of whose achievements are noted in this book. It has been said that nostalgia is history with the bad bits written out but the author has managed to tell the story warts and all. The vocational system of education developed in a time of economic depression and there are marvellous accounts of the struggles by principals, staffs and communities from Inishowen to Bundoran to have a school in their area. This book has a story to interest readers in all parts of the county.

Louis Emerson M.A. 1936-2005

The book will trigger numerous responses and debates as people read the unfolding educational history of their part of the county and reminisce about people who are no longer with us. The history of each school established by the Joint Committee for Technical Instruction and its successor Donegal VEC is recalled in this book; schools which amalgamated and might have been overlooked are included. This book has stories to interest the general reader containing much previously unpublished social history which will be of special interest to members of County Donegal Historical Society. I know my good friend Louis Emerson, himself a pioneer of County Donegal Historical Society was also a pioneer of vocational education, since 1936, establishing schools in Loughanure, Stranorlar and Ballyshannon. He would have been delighted with Sandra's generous comments on his significant role in the growth of vocational education. Mr. Paddy Mc Gill, a founder member of our society, and a retired primary school principal at the time, also figures prominently, as at the age of 75, he became principal of a rebel school in Killybegs set up by the local community. The reviewer of this book also had a similar experience when the community in Bundoran set up a vocational school against the wishes of the Department. Both Killybegs and Bundoran are thriving schools today, an indication that local communities can make a difference with the support of County Donegal VEC.

The lives of people throughout the county were improved by the VEC, not alone providing day and night class education, but also by their schools and centres providing a focal point for social events and meetings of clubs such as Macra na Tuatha and the Gaelic League. Vocational education has played a significant role in the development of local industries which have enabled communities to sustain themselves in less prosperous times and which today provide valuable local employment.

Seán Ó' Longáin C.E.O. since 1976

The introduction of Free Education in the 1960's together with the broadening of the curriculum to include Leaving Certificate and Post-Leaving Certificate programmes has resulted in a massive expansion of vocational education, including increased access to 3rd level, resulting in the establishment of 14 post- primary schools, including the island schools of Arranmore and Tory. Incredibly a scheme to provide education to communities, by itinerant teachers a century ago, now employs a staff of over 1,700 and Sandra Buchanan has captured this sense of a constantly evolving and progressive education system which has many plans for future growth. Mr. Seán Ó' Longáin, Chief Executive Officer since 1976, and indeed the longest serving C.E.O. has been at the forefront of much of the major developments including, major school building programmes, adult education centres, tourism college, Gartan Outdoor Centre and credit to him and his team, throughout the county, whose successes are recorded in a very impressive chronology.

Ms. Buchanan as well as recording the major achievements of the past also records the present and future development for this pioneering organisation which still draws its strength from its ability to meet the needs of local communities. The book reflects the tremendous advances in educational provision both in day courses, literacy and life long learning and not alone records the history of vocational education but also deals in a most interesting way with the current challenges and future developments. This book will be invaluable as a resource for local historians and for staffs and students who wish to research their individual school histories in the future. Sandra Buchanan, the author, has shown a feel for her subject which adds greatly to our understanding of how education developed in every part of the county and the book will stand as a testament to the past successes of vocational/technical education and inspire further progress in the future. "Co. Donegal Vocational Educational Committee 1905-2005" was printed by Marley Design and sponsored by Bank of Ireland.

Anthony Begley

Authors and publishers are invited to submit publications to the Editor for review in *Donegal Annual*. Research of Donegal interest in third-level institutions will also be listed.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY 2005

Anthony Begley

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The Annual General Meeting of County Donegal Historical Society was held in Jackson's Hotel, Ballybofey, on Tuesday 19th April at 8 p.m. Mr. Vincent O' Donnell was elected President, Mr. Frank Shovlin was elected Treasurer of the Society and Mr. Seán Beattie was elected Editor of the Donegal Annual. Ms. Una Mc Garrigle was elected Hon. Secretary and did an excellent job in organising this year's programme of events. For the first time, the Society issued members with a calendar outlining the programme of events for the year. Three new executive members were elected: Eileen Burgess, Joseph Hegarty and Helen Meehan.

ANNUAL SEMINAR

The theme of the popular seminar was: "Famous Donegal People of the Past" and it was held on Saturday 30th April in Ballybofey. Speakers at a most enjoyable and interesting seminar were: Helen Meehan, Anthony Begley, Seán Mc Loone, Dr. Brian Lambkin, Rev. Dr. Pádraig Ó' Baoighill and Tom Sweeney. The speakers, respectively, spoke about the lives of Seamus Mc Manus and Eithne Carbery, William and Helen Allingham, Red Hugh O' Donnell and Donegal Castle, John Toland, Cardinal O' Donnell and An Píobaire Mór

SCHOOLS' COMPETITION

Once again great credit is due to the teachers and students in the primary and post-primary schools throughout the county, for their excellent entries in the Schools' Competition. Mr. Pat Shallow, Director of the Schools' Competition, and his panel of assessors are also to be complimented for the excellent presentation and display of awards in Jackson's Hotel, Ballybofey, on Thursday 12th May. A

special award was presented in memory of our esteemed Secretary, Ms. Kathleen Emerson. Full report of the presentations is included in this *Annual.*

THE DONEGAL ANNUAL

The Donegal Annual has been published every year since 1947, without fail. This is a marvellous tribute to the Editors and contributors and the *Donegal Annual* now ranks as the greatest source of information on the history of County Donegal. The *Annual* also provides a forum for writers to have their work published and presented to a wide audience. This year, Fr. Aodhán Cannon, Honorary Editor, retired from the office after giving a very dedicated and professional service to our Society and he deserves our heartiest gratitude for a job well done. We welcome Mr. Seán Beattie as Editor of the *Donegal Annual* and based on his previous contribution of learned articles to the *Annual* and the numerous books he has published on the heritage and history of the county, we feel he will continue the fine traditions of his predecessors.

ANNUAL COACH OUTING

The popular coach outing took place on the 11th June when our members travelled to the Clogher Valley in County Tyrone. Our guide for the day in the Augher and Clogher area was Jack Johnston, an eminent historian and a great friend of Donegal Historical Society. An enjoyable day ended with dinner in Enniskillen.

FIELD DAYS

Our first field day of the year took place in the **Ballyshannon** area**,** on the 3rd of July. The Society also played host to the Ó' Donnell Clan Rally who joined us for part of the field day. Mr. Louis Emerson, Curator of the Society Museum, welcomed the Ó' Donnell's at the Friary in Rossnowlagh and spoke in Spanish of our connections with Spain; he also conducted a visit to Kilbarron Church and related the history of Kilbarron Castle. This was Louis' final field day for the Society. The field day then continued in Ballyshannon, with Anthony Begley as guide, where the Ó'Donnells visited the sites of the Ó'Donnell Castle and the Battle of Ballyshannon. Members of the Society later visited the Workhouse, St. Anne's Church and the archaeological site at Ballyhanna.

On the 21st August the second field day of the season was held in **Ardara,** the heritage town; a host of guides recalled the history of Ardara during a most

enjoyable field day. The event was co-ordinated by Eddie O' Donnell, ably assisted by two principal guides, Evelyn O' Byrne and Eileen Curran. Sites and topics included: the history of the three churches, the courthouse, weaving mart and early electricity supply.

The final field day took place in **Dunlewey** during Heritage Week on Sunday 11th September where John Boyd was an excellent guide. The area of focus for the field day was at the base of Errigal and amongst the sites visited were: Dunlewey House and the ruins of the Church of Ireland.

DEATH OF LUCIUS EMERSON

On Monday 5th September 2005, Lucius Emerson, a founding father and guiding light of the Society died at the age of 94. A tribute to the life and achievements of Mr. Emerson is included in this Annual. In July of 2004 he was predeceased by his wife, Kathleen, Hon. Secretary of the Society for 44 years. May they both rest in peace.

PADDY MC GILL LECTURE

This years Mc Gill lecture was held in the Central Bar, Ardara on Saturday 29th October at 8.30 p.m. and was as usual well attended. An abstract of the lecture, which was given by Dr. Charles Doherty of UCD, is printed in this issue.



Field Day at Glencolmcille, August 2004 with Prof. Michael Herrity

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS AND ROYAL INAUGURATION IN TÍR CHONAILL:

A re-examination

McGill Lecture by Charles Doherty, UCD.

The account of royal inauguration in Tír Chonaill by Giraldus Cambrensis has been referred to in many discussions of kingship, not merely by Irish scholars but by international scholars as well. All are agreed that the nearest parallel for this account lies in the Ashvamedha 'horse sacrifice' of the Sanskrit sources of ancient India. While this has been accepted in general there has been no in-depth analysis of the description provided by Giraldus nor any detailed comparison with the Indian sources. This lecture attempted to make such an analysis. It was argued that the event that took place at Eamhain Macha (Navan Fort) beside Armagh in 95/4 BC provides evidence for a kingship ritual that can best be explained by comparison with Indian sources. What kind of ritual was this? In order to answer this it is necessary to examine the concept of the High-kingship of Ireland associated with Tara.

The High-kingship of Tara has been explained in relation to the description given by Giraldus. However much ambiguity and debate surrounds this institution. At one end of the argument is the question of whether the High-kingship ever existed. If it did what was the role of the king of Tara? Was it an Uí Néill institution? Who had the right to claim title to the kingship of Tara? Was the position purely symbolical? These questions lead to an enquiry into the nature of kingship itself. As such we must look beyond Ireland and indeed beyond the world of the Celts to gain an understanding of the underlying principles associated with this institution.

Arising out of the Indian evidence the concept of the 'World King' was explored. Since some scholars have disputed the validity of the Indian evidence in relation to kingship in early Ireland, the occurrence of this concept closer to home was sought. Indeed it was argued that the concept is to be found in the most ancient of Irish poetry associated with Leinster.

Who or what was the 'World King'? At this point a story (and its variants) from Irish folklore was examined. This is the story that 'Labraid Loingsech has horses ears'. There is no known origin for this motif. It was suggested that kingship provided an answer which lead to a discussion of 'horse-headed kings'. This again brings Irish kingship into the international arena and demonstrates that it is not a peculiar local manifestation.

Finally the religious aspect of kingship was examined. It is of interest that clerical authors of the seventh century in Ireland mention the high-kingship. If it is such a pagan institution why should this be the case? Of immediate interest to a Donegal audience is the fact that Adhamhnán, the ninth abbot of Iona, is to the fore in this debate. The strongest king in Ireland at the time was also from Donegal, Loingsech mac Óengusso. Both were instrumental in assembling the Synod of Birr in 697. The significance of this in relation to the kingship of all Ireland was discussed and, in particular, the role of the seventh-century clergy in the attempt to create a specifically Christian kingship was examined.

Dr. Charles Doherty is a Lecturer in Early and Medieval Irish History at UCD.

DONEGAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY SCHOOLS' COMPETITIONS

2005

REPORT AND RESULTS

The 30th schools' competitions organised by the Donegal Historical Society took place on May 12th 2005 in Jackson's Hotel, Ballybofey. It was a great success with over 20 schools represented and a wealth of local history on display.

From a choice of Field Names, Crafts, Local Parish and Folklore students from all over Donegal produced a night to remember. The Judges were impressed with their knowledge, interest and enthusiasm and found it very difficult to sort out the eventual winners.In truth they were all stars as local history was the winner and great thanks must go to their teachers and parents/guardians for all the encouragement and help given over the past 6 months. The Society as always is indebted to all the people who have helped to promote and preserve the rich history of this county through the competition and especially to the Fitzgerald Trust who have been our main sponsors for many years. This year the trophy was presented by Mary Doherty from Kerrykeel, a good friend of Fr. Jackie.

A special award was presented this year in memory of Kathleen Emerson, our Honorary Secretary who died in 2004 after a lifetime of service to this Society.
The award went to Scoil Chatriona from Ballyshannon whose efforts and enthusiasm for such a young class really impressed the judges. The other two main trophies were both shared with the Harley /Mac Donagh going to Teevog NS Cloghan and Scoil Mhuire, Gleneely and the Fr. Jackie Fitzgerald Trophy going to Deele College, Raphoe and Pobalscoil Ghaoth Dobhair.

SCHOOLS COMPETITIONS RESULTS 2005

HARLEY MAC DONAGH TROPHY

WINNERS
Teevog NS, Cloghan
Scoil Mhuire, Gleneely

RUNNERS-UP
St. Mura's, Buncrana

3RD PLACE
Kilaghtee NS
Niall Mór NS, Killybegs

HIGHLY COMMENDED
St. Columba's NS, Kilmacrennan
St. Naul's NS, Mountcharles
Killymard NS, Donegal Town
Holy Trinity NS, Dunfanaghy

FR. JACKIE FITZGERALD TROPHY

WINNERS
Deele College, Raphoe
Pobalscoil Ghaoth Dobhair

RUNNER- UP
Gairmscoil Mhic Diarmada, Arainn Mór

CECIL KING CUP (ARTEFACTS)

WINNERS
Noel Mc Bride, Pobalscoil na Rosann

RUNNERS- UP
Aodh O'Gallachoir, Pobalscoil Ghaoth Dobhair
Francis Ward, Carrick VS
Mark Mc Paul, Pobalscoil na Rosann

Ronan Sweeney, Pobalscoil na Rosann
Patrick Bonar, Pobalscoil na Rosann

KATHLEEN EMERSON AWARD

WINNERS
Scoil Chatriona, Ballyshannon

JUNIOR PRIMARY TROPHY

WINNERS
Glenswilly NS Newmills, Letterkenny
Ballyraine NS ,Letterkenny

HIGHLY COMMENDED
St. Finian's, Whitecastle
Scoil Chatriona, Ballyshannon

INDIVIDUALS (PRIMARY:)

WINNER
Rachel Parke, Ballyraine NS

RUNNER- UP
Ryan Streete, St. Finian's NS, Whitecastle

HIGHLY COMMENDED
Cian Curran, Ballyraine NS
Marcie Curran, Ballyraine NS
Aisling Moore,Ballyraine NS
Terence Furey,Killymard NS
Billy Wilson, Killymard NS
Nia Roberts, Holy Trinity NS

SECONDARY (JUNIOR SECTION)
WINNER
Lee Hegarty, Royal and Prior

SECONDARY (SENIOR SECTION)
WINNER
Conor O' Gallachoir, Pobalscoil Ghaoth Dobhair

SMALL GROUPS

PRIMARY JUNIOR:
WINNERS
St. Finian's, Whitecastle

Patrick de Brun
Aidan Cunningham
Darren Anderson
Robbie Thompson.

PRIMARY SENIOR:
WINNERS
Holy Trinity NS, Dunfanaghy

Carol Mc Elhinney
Samantha Mc Kemey

SECONDARY
WINNERS
Pobalscoil Ghaoth Dobhair

Aodh O' Searcaigh
Stephanie Nic a Tailliura

LARGE GROUPS

SECONDARY
WINNERS
Pobalscoil Ghaoth Dobhair

Eoghan Colm Ó' Donaill
Carl Ó' Fearraigh
Stiofan Mac Gonagail
Sean Ó' Gallachoir

PAST PRESIDENTS

(Asterick denotes deceased).

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*1948 –	Rt. Rev. Dean Molloy, D.Ph., V.G., P.P., Dungloe.
*1949 –	Capt. J. Hamilton, Ballintra.
*1950 –	Sean D. MacLochlainn, Lifford.
*1951 –	Rev. Dr. J. H. Bewglas, Raphoe.
*1952 –	An tAth. P. MacLoinsigh, P.P., Aghyaran.
*1953 –	Rev. R. Laird, The Manse, Ardstraw.
*1954 –	Patrick J. McGill, N.T., F.R.S.A.I., Ardara.
*1955 –	Miss C. Atkinson, Cavangarden, Ballintra.
*1956/1957 –	Fr. Terence O'Donnell, O.F.M., Rossnowlagh.
*1958/1959 –	Mr. J. C. T. MacDonagh, Ballybofey.
*1960 –	Denis Verschoyle, Cape Town, South Africa.
*1961 -	Eamonn MacLoinsigh, An Clochan, Gleann Fhinne.
*1962/1964 –	P. Urr. O'Gallachair, Cluain Eois & Drom Mor.
*1965 –	Harry P. Swan, Buncrana.
*1966/1967 –	Rupert S. O'Cochlainn, Dublin.
*1968/1970 –	E. W. R. Cookman, M.A., Raphoe.
*1971 –	Dr. J. G. Simms, Dublin.
*1972/1973 –	Liam MacMeanman, B.A., O.S., Fal Carrach.
*1974 –	Sean Mac Loinsigh, O.S., Convoy.
*1975/1976 –	Brian Walsh, F.S.M.C., Letterkenny.
1977/1979 –	J. D. Williams, Letterkenny.
*1980/1982 –	Dorothy Borland, Fanad.
*1983 –	Edward McIntyre, Strabane.
*1984/1986 –	Cecil King, Ballyshannon.
*1987/1988 –	Liam O'Doherty, Derry.
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1990/1992 –	Arthur Lemon, Waterford.
1993/1994 –	Seamus Gildea, Glenties.
1995/1996 –	Mairead Dunlevy, Dublin.
1997/1998 –	Patrick J. Dunleavy, Dungloe.
1999/2001 -	Edward O' Kane, Cavanacor House, Ballindrait, Lifford.
2002/2005 -	Anthony Begley , Ballyshannon.

OFFICERS: 2005

To replace outgoing **President** Anthony Begley, Vincent O'Donnell from Inver was elected the new President. Vincent served for many years on the executive Committee and is also on the Editorial Board.

Vice-Presidents: Louis Emerson and May McClintock
Hon. Secretary: Una McGarrigle, Ballyshannon
Hon. Treasurer: Frank Shovlin, Donegal Town
Asst. Treasurer: Moira Mallon, Killybegs
Hon. Auditor: John McCreadie, Letterkenny
Hon. Editor: Fr Aodhán Cannon was our Editor for many years.
Seán Beattie, Culdaff is the Editor of this issue.
PRO: Connie Duffy
Assistant PRO: Leonard Roarty, Manorcunningham
Director of Archaeological &Historical Survey: Judith McCarthy, Letterkenny
Curator of DHS Museum, Rossnowlagh: Louis Emerson
Assistant Curator: Anthony Begley
Editorial Board: Seán Beattie (Editor)
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Two Spanish visitors, members of the O' Donnell Clan, at Ballyshannon with Vincent O' Donnell, President and Anthony Begley